# JOHN DAHLE
# A POSITIVE INFLUENCE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHURCH MUSIC IN THE AMERICAN MID-WEST 1876-1931

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

By

Nell-Marie Hoyem

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

August, 1967

Efter maleri av Arne Berger

John Dahle

# PREFACE

This dissertation was a study of the contribution which John Dahle, a Norwegian immigrant musician, made to church music, the male chorus movement, and cultural development in general among Norwegian-Americans. To understand and interpret this contribution was impossible without first getting an insight into his Norwegian background and the forces which had shaped him. For this reason the introductory chapter of the dissertation dealing with Norway's political, social, economic, religious, and cultural development was necessary. Karen Larsen's _A History of Norway_ and Knut Gjerset's _History of the Norwegian People_ were the authoritative sources used. O. M. Sandvick's _Norges Musikhistorie_, _Norske religiøse folketoner_, and _Norsk Koralhistorie_ furnished the basic sources relating to Norway's developing art music, its folk songs, and church hymns.

From Theodore C. Blegen's documented works _Norwegian Migration to America, 1825-1860_ and _Norwegian Migration to America: The American Transition_, the writer gained insight into the migration, the struggles, and achievements of the Norwegian pioneers in the New World as well as invaluable assistance through the suggested reference materials which proved helpful to the present study.

Relatively few studies have been done on church music among the Norwegian-Americans. Gerhard Cartford's recent doctoral dissertation "Music in the Norwegian Lutheran Church: a Study of Its Development in Norway and Its Transfer to America, 1825-1917" (University of Minnesota, 1961) is a well-documented study of the sources of church music used by Norwegian-American Lutherans and also surveys the contribution of many Norwegian immigrant musicians to church music, including John Dahle. His article "Music for Youth in an Emerging Church," in *Studies and Records*, XXII (Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian American Historical Association, 1965), 162-177 presents the New World influences which have impinged upon the hymns sung by second generation Norwegian-American Lutherans and contrasts these hymns with those in the standard hymnals brought to America from Norway by the first generation Norwegians. J.C.K. Preus' *The History of the Choral Union of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* (Augsburg Publishing House, 1960) has an historic survey of the development of the Choral Union activities of the Norwegian Lutheran Church and the musicians who helped the Choral Union to grow into a significant musical organization of the church. Much information regarding John Dahle's contribution to the development of this organization and to the development of church music in general was gained from Dr. Preus' study. Leola Bergmann's *Music Master of the Middle West, The Story of F. Melius Christiansen and the St. Olaf Choir* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1944) presents the life story of the Norwegian immigrant musician, F. Melius Christiansen and his vital contribution to Norwegian-American Lutheran church music and to America's culture. Little has been done by way of studies indicating the impact of Norwegian folk songs on America's culture. Olaf E. Eidbo's doctoral dissertation "Songs of the Norwegian Folk in Culture and Education in the United States" (University of North Dakota, 1956) is a questionnaire study designed to show the carry over of Norwegian folk songs into American life; however, the conclusions drawn are somewhat general and the validity of the findings uncertain.

This dissertation on John Dahle was largely based on primary sources. The method used was a study of John Dahle's published song collections, liturgical books, extant original compositions, published and unpublished papers, his articles in the extant copies of _Norsk-Amerikansk Musiktidende_, (1890-1891), _Musiktidende_ (1895), (both of which he edited and published), articles in the official Norwegian church papers and Norwegian press, particularly _Nordvesten_, which newspaper contained his series on "Musicians and Musical Life Among the Norwegians in America," and articles on church music and concert life among the Norwegians as well as the wider community. Since John Dahle thought and wrote in Norwegian, the first problem was that of translating his written work before assimilating articles or a summary of their thought into the main body of the thesis. This procedure was also followed in the Norwegian accounts by his contemporaries, who wrote concerning John Dahle's influence in promoting good taste and discrimination in the use of church music and his role in encouraging the use of larger choral works with instrumental accompaniment and of contemporary Norwegian repertoire for the Norwegian-American male chorus singing festivals. Through the direct method of allowing John Dahle and his contemporaries relate the story of his attempts to upgrade the quality of music used by the church and male choruses and to stimulate improvement in the performance level of this music, the extent of his contribution in promoting these goals has been derived.

The writer of this thesis is indebted to many individuals for their kind and helpful assistance in suggesting resource people, providing materials, and advice in the preparation of this dissertation. Among those whose assistance has been deeply appreciated are: Mrs. B. Torvik, Decorah, Iowa, and Mrs. M. B. Quill, Bode, Iowa, who provided names of people to contact for information regarding John Dahle; Miss Elsa Gullixson, Bell, California, the granddaughter of John Dahle, who sent materials and available data about her grandfather; Dr. J.C.K. Preus, who made available his copy of Rhytmisk Koralbog and material on John Dahle; Miss Agnes Preus, who kindly responded to requests for information regarding extant materials; Dr. T. F. Gullixson, who also kindly answered a request for information concerning John Dahle's extant manuscripts and whose reply gave encouragement to the writer; Pastor W. V. Johnson, Christ Lutheran Church, St. Paul, and Mrs. L. Larson, organist, Christ Lutheran Church, St. Paul, who graciously responded to a request for an interview.

The curators, directors, and staffs of several libraries have been most helpful in aiding the writer to procure research materials and books and in answering requests for assistance. Miss Valborg Bestul, Luther Theological Seminary Library, St. Paul, Minnesota, made the John Dahle papers in the Seminary Archives available for translation and study and kindly arranged for the perusal of other pertinent materials. Mr. Thomas Deahl, curator, Mr. John Pankake, assistant curator, Mr. William Schneider, reference librarian, and Mr. Wilbert Harri, assistant, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota, courteously assisted the writer by preparing microfilm copy of Nordvesten, arranging for the loan of some issues of Skandinaven and permitting use of Minneapolis Tidende, Reform, Sanger-Hilsen, and other reference materials. Mr. Oivind M. Hovde and Miss Leona Alsaker, Koren Library, Luther College, Decorah, Iowa, responded to a request for a photostatic copy of a letter written by Pastor U. V. Koren to John Dahle. Mr. Lloyd Hustvedt, Norwegian-American Historical Association, Northfield, Minnesota, allowed access to the files of John Dahle's music periodicals, and the staff of Rølvaag Library, St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota, to John Dahle's publications. Miss Katherine Holum, University of Minnesota Music Library, offered assistance through loan of materials. Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois, gave permission to look for resource materials.

In the preparation of this study, the writer is indebted to Dr. Johannes Riedel, her adviser in the major field, Musicology, for his constructive assistance and valuable suggestions and to Dr. Gordon M. A. Mork, her adviser in the minor field, Education, for his helpful criticism and encouragement.

A special thanks is due the members of the writer's family for their concern and interest, and particularly Helen, her sister, for her assistance in the typing of the first draft of the dissertation.

The writer also wishes to thank Mrs. Jung Sik Rno for her excellent assistance in typing the final form of the dissertation.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

PREFACE .......................................... iv

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS ..............................

Chapter

I. NORWEGIAN BACKGROUND .................... 1
  Historical Perspective
  Patterns of Change
    Religious Developments
    Political and Economic Influences
    Educational Programs
    Cultural Developments
  Emigration

II. THE AMERICAN SCENE AFTER 1870 ............ 51
  Immigrant Contributions

III. JOHN DAHLE OF VALDRES COMES TO AMERICA .... 65
  Valdres
  Childhood and Youth
  Early Years in America
    *Sangbog for Kirkekor*
    *Sangbog for Mandssangforeninger*

IV. THE NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN MALE CHORUS MOVEMENT: JOHN DAHLE'S ROLE IN ITS DEVELOPMENT ...... 88
  The United Scandinavian Singers of America
  The Northwestern Scandinavian Singers' Association
    *Fram*: A Collection for Male Chorus
    *Male* Chorus Festivals 1900-1906
  Norwegian-Danish Singers' Association
  Norwegian Singers' Association of America
  *Nordisk Sang Album* for Male Chorus
  Some Viewpoints on the Male Chorus
  John Dahle and the Male Chorus
  Function of the Norwegian-American Male Chorus

TABLE OF CONTENTS--Continued

Chapter Page

V. JOHN DAHLE IN IOWA .......................... 129
    Church Musician in Rural Iowa
    Cultural Activities in and around Story City, Iowa, in the Late 1870's
    The Need for Qualified Music Teachers

VI. EXTENDED ACTIVITIES IN MINNESOTA ............ 140
    Director of Choral Music: The Twin Cities
    Publisher of *Norsk-Amerikansk Musiktidende*
    Teacher at Church Colleges
    Norwegian Lutheran Singers' Choral Union
    Publisher of *Musiktidende*
    Music Teacher and Co-editor of *Jubilate*
    Founder of the Choral Union of the Norwegian Synod

VII. A WIDER SPHERE OF INFLUENCE .................. 169
    Hymnologist
    Director of the Singing Society *Fram*, St. Paul
    The Norwegian Music League
    Associate Editor of *Nordvesten*
        Musicians and Musical Life among the Norwegians in America
        Address before the Norwegian-American Press Association
    Member of *Valdris Samband*

VIII. RECOGNITION AS "A VERITABLE PIONEER PROPHET OF CHURCH SONG" ................................213
    Director of Twin City Area Male Choruses
    Instructor, Norwegian Drama, University of Minnesota
    His Ministry of Music Continues
        Professor of Hymnology and Chant
        Choral Union Director
        Song Publications
        Cantatas
        *The Liturgical Service of the Lutheran Church*
        Memorable Occurrences
        *Library of Christian Hymns*
        Recognition by His Contemporaries

## TABLE OF CONTENTS--Continued

Chapter Page

John Dahle Memorial Concert
John Dahle's Philosophy

IX. "IN RETROSPECT" .............................. 242

APPENDICES

A. Translation of John Dahle Papers ............ 248
  How Our Hymns Ought To Be Sung
  Musiktidende: Singing Congregations
  Address: The Ideal Home
  Address: Frams Third Evening Program
  Address: Valdris Samband
  Address: May 17th Festival
  Address: Norwegian-American Press Association

B. Letter from a Friend of Good Church Music Regarding Song Services at the Synod Church, St. Paul ...................................... 326

C. Lutheran Hymnary ............................ 328

D. A tribute to Prof. John Dahle .............. 330

E. List of Published and Unpublished Works ...... 333

BIBLIOGRAPHY .......................................... 339

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Page

1. John Dahle Portrait ........................... iii

2. Cover Page - Norsk Amerikansk Musiktidende ..... 143

3. Concert Programs directed by John Dahle (reprinted in Nordvesten) ..................... 338

# I

# NORWEGIAN BACKGROUND

## Historical Perspective

"The Icelanders, in their long winter, had a great habit of writing...and it is to this fact that any little history there is of the Norse Kings...is almost all due."[1] The Viking Age (800-1050) first brought Norway historical notice through the intrepid enterprises of its aristocratic youth. Carlyle states that the life of a Viking was the only profession open to a gentleman at this time.[2] The earliest Viking activities were a combination of sport and adventure with financial gain as an objective. The Norwegian population, in general, perhaps welcomed the idea of a united Norway under King Harald Fairhair (860-930) as a means of consolidating their defenses against the Viking maurauders who were playing havoc with their use of the sea for peaceful trade. These sea pirates were also feared by all the coast countries in western Europe and by England. Exploration and colonization of Iceland at the close of the ninth century was primarily accomplished by the aristocratic youth whose former piratical activities on the sea had been circumscribed by the consolidation of the country under King Harald. They colonized the Faroe Islands, the Hebrides, the Orkneys, the Isle of Man, and areas of England and Scotland. With other Scandinavian Vikings they founded a kingdom in Dublin in 840 and the Duchy of Normandy in 911.

---

[1] J. G. Dahlmann, Geschichte von Dannemark, III (Hamburg, 1840); quoted in Thomas Carlyle, "Early Kings of Norway," Critical and Miscellaneous Essay, V (New York, n.d.), p. 29.

[2] Thomas Carlyle, "Early Kings of Norway," Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, V (New York, n.d.), pp. 201-310.

After King Harald's death, the kingdom was again divided as rival pretenders contended for power. The kingdom was reunited once again when King Harald's great grandson Olaf Trygvason returned to claim his inheritance in 995. His childhood and young manhood had been spent at various times in Sweden, Russia, and England. He had begun his career as a Viking, but having been baptized into Christian faith while he was in England, he ardently suppressed heathenism and imposed Christianity on Norway when he became its king. Only five years later he met an untimely death at the Battle of Svold, where his fleet was taken by surprise attack led by a coalition largely consisting of foreign forces. The fact that the clergy failed to canonize him for his religious zeal is an indictment of his ruthless methods. This honor came to his kinsman, Olaf Haraldson, "The Saint" (1015-1030).

For several centuries civil wars existed between rival pretenders to the throne, with a new dynasty headed by Sverre in

1184 continuing until 1319, at which time there was no direct male successor and Norway was united with Sweden through the expediency of royal intermarriage. The union of the crowns of Norway and Sweden was temporary and proved most unsatisfactory.

The political factor which brought about Norway's dynastic union with Denmark in 1380 resulted in an eclipse of Norway's role as a state. The court was maintained at Copenhagen. The kings seldom lived in or visited Norway. In some respects this was a fortunate aspect; it gave the people of Norway more personal freedom to conduct their own local affairs. Down through the years to 1814 there was a steady growth of sturdy self reliance and independence. Though the people had small influence in national life, they maintained faith in their political and folk traditions. "The centuries of the Danish union were a 'Danish period' only on the surface, and the history of the people could therefore show a gradual development toward complete national self-assertion."[3]

On the other hand, during these more than four hundred years little attention was paid to developing Norway's resources, to providing for the education of her people, or to solving her international difficulties. Norway's former maritime supremacy suffered from the successful operations of the German Hanseatic League and later in the sixteenth century from those of the Dutch.

---

[3] Karen Larsen, History of Norway (New York, 1948), p. 243.

The introduction of the Lutheran Reformation (1536) was an arbitrary measure which simply involved putting the church under royal control and absorbing church property for the benefit of the state, thereby confirming even more solidly the entrenched dominance of Denmark.

Apparent in the early eighteenth century was the development of two cultural strands which differentiated the bourgeoisie from the rural society. The bourgeoisie of Norway were its upper class, the public officials, nobles, professional men, clergymen, burghers, who carried the feeling of upper class distinction. Their life was conditioned by their cosmopolitan outlook and their Norwegian national feeling. Some were Danish or had been educated in Denmark and therefore used the Danish language; others spoke Norwegian-Danish, the "book language" since Reformation times. As a class, however, they were devoted to Norway and were strong champions of the developing national feeling:

> The University of Copenhagen, the Danish publishing houses, and finally the Reformation, in the interest of which Danish religious books were introduced in Norway, contributed to make Danish the church and school language as it had already become the official language of the kingdom. In the cities, and among the clergy, and upper classes, the Danish tongue in a greatly modified form became in time also the spoken language, while Norwegian became the despised vernacular of the common people...a symbol of Arcadian rusticity.[4]

---

[4] Knut Gjerset, History of the Norwegian People II (New York, 1915), 92.

The common people comprised not only the rural population but also the industrial workers, sailors, and craftsmen of the towns. The freeholder in this group was recognized as an important and distinguished segment whose roots extended back into Norway's early era of kings and nobility. The freeholders maintained their ancient rights, the fundamental principles of their liberty, and a profound belief in their hereditary freedom and laws. Though there is no authentic information regarding the origin of Norway's ancient code of laws, Halvdan Koht observes "that it contains many laws, virtually a whole complex of rules that date back to the eleventh century and even earlier times."[5] The concept stated in the introduction to the code, "With laws shall we build our land, not with lawlessness lay it waste," has been a cardinal principle of Norwegian legal history. During the second half of the eighteenth century, the farmer class felt particularly exploited because of the expanding economic development of the burgher class and the very high rise in prices. Their complaints against both the wealthy burghers and the government officials took the very effective form of propagandizing their unfair treatment through stories, songs, and jokes. The sheriff, who was a prosecuting officer as well as a tax collector, became an especial target, more often than not being compared with the devil. "The popular conception of official justice is drastically stated by a Norwegian proverb: 'Virtue in the middle,' said the devil, as he sat down between a sheriff and a judge."[6] There was a close feeling between the freeholders and the crofters which was strengthened by their common love and devotion to their country and its traditions. These had been orally transmitted and cherished down through the generations and were repeated in the dialects of the various communities. The people largely remained untouched by foreign currents of thought and there was, on the whole, little awareness by the upper class of the rural folk culture.

---

[5] Halvdan Koht and Sigmund Skard, Voice of Norway (New York, 1944), p. 11.

Not until the middle of the eighteenth century was there a concerted effort by the upper class to promote Norway's economic and cultural status. The Scientific Society of Trondheim was established in 1760, and there was agitation for a university, a national bank, and the abolition of the poll tax of 1762.

The impact of the French Revolution stimulated great interest and awareness of constitutional government and democratic ideals. The violent and troubled times occasioned by Napoleon's ruthlessness resulted in great hardship for Norway. In electing to side with Napoleon, Denmark invited the British blockade, which was ruinous to Norway's trade and not at all in accordance with the country's wishes. The crowning indignity which acted as a spring board for Norway's determined stand for independence was the Treaty of Kiel in 1814 by which the Danish king renounced all rights to Norway, which was summarily handed over to the king of Sweden. Norway's answer to those who had bargained without considering the

---

[6] Koht, p. 56.

Norwegian people was given at the dramatic constituent assembly at Eidsvold in the form of a constitution signed on May 17, 1814. Significant was the first of the declared principles: "Norway is to be a limited, hereditary monarchy; it shall be a free, independent, and indivisible kingdom, and the regent shall have the title of king."[7] The stirring moment when the delegates formed a chain of brotherhood and pledged "United and true until Dovre falls" was symbolically indicative of a solemn dedication to a great common purpose,--an independent nation.

And though the matter came to blows in reality neither Sweden nor Norway wanted war. Norway was depleted as a result of her ruined commerce in the Napoleonic wars. The Swedish king wished the matter settled before it should be brought before the statesmen at the Congress of Vienna, among whom sympathy for Norway had been growing. He accepted the Norwegian Constitution. Norway's Storting voted him king.

It was Norway's lack of power to direct her foreign policy which precipitated termination of the union with Sweden in 1905. "The termination of the ninety-year old union with Sweden was greeted with an outburst of patriotic enthusiasm in which there was scarcely a note of discord, as parties and classes were forgotten in a great national cause."[8]

## Patterns of Change in Norwegian Life

After 1814, Norway pursued an independent political life.

---

[7] Gjerset, History of the Norwegian People II, 425.

[8] Larsen, History of Norway, p. 490.

A new creative impulse surged through the land, and latent powers long dormant found an outlet in new programs of religious, educational, political and economic, and cultural development. In the 1840's and 1850's a reaction against the pervading rationalism of the eighteenth century found expression in a return to human emotion, a renewed interest in the individual, in nature and the commonplace. A heightened awareness of the primitive or the elemental factors in human history loomed large as evidenced in the concern for folk literature, art, and music. It was a time of poetry and song, revitalized by imagination and freedom of expression. The spirit of "national romanticism" was abroad in the land and new approaches to old problems stirred men to action. Norway was at the threshold of her Renaissance. Belatedly, but energetically, and with confidence she accepted the challenge of the future. After mid century, reality loomed large. The dichotomy of the culture,--the old bonde (rural) class and the official class--precipitated conflict and struggle as old value patterns were challenged. The spirit of positivism born of a new philosophy rooted in science made its impact as Norway faced the modern age. Those who emigrated to the new world during the century had lived through many of the experiences associated with these changes.

Religious Developments: Their Effect on Devotional Books and Hymns.--"The first movement to create a definite unity of aspiration within the whole farmer class was a religious one."[9]

---

[9] Koht, Voice of Norway, p. 58.

The early decades of the century saw negating forces reacting against the rationalistic spirit in the Church. "In the nineteenth century the Church of Norway was an episcopally organized Lutheran State Church, enjoying virtually a monopolistic position in which control was exercised by officialdom and in whose affairs the layman had little voice."[10]

Orthodoxy and pietism protested the secularization of the "enlightened religion" which had banned age-old devotional books and had eliminated the supernatural elements in Christianity. The layman found a spokesman in a leader who was to effect a religious revival of national scope,--Hans Nielsen Hauge. In addition to his religious mission he demonstrated rare ability as an economic organizer. His aim was to make the farmers economically independent by helping them to organize new industries such as salt factories, paper mills, and other businesses. The effort was in reality a class movement to further the interests of the rural population, and as such it came into conflict with upper class officialdom. The State Clergy opposed Hauge's lay preaching and the monopolistic merchant class resented his business adventures.

A government decree issued in 1742 forbidding all "conventicles (assemblies) to listen to unauthorized sermons by laymen...became the stumbling block to the revival started by Hans

---

[10] Clifford E. Nelson and Eugene L. Fevold, The Lutheran Church among Norwegian-Americans, I (Minneapolis, 1960), 12.

Nielsen Hauge in 1796."[11] His continued activities eventually led to his arrest and imprisonment in 1804. Because of his great organizational and business abilities, he was released in 1809 to help the country rebuild its industrial strength, so sadly depleted due to the trade barriers existing during the Napoleonic conflict. "More than any one other influence, Hauge helped to unite the common people and prepare them to take their proper place in the life of the nation."[12]

The generation of pastors after 1814 reflected a more "Christian and Biblical" or "Evangelical" spirit in their preaching according to Bishop Bugge's visitation record, which revealed "that rationalistic teaching was rather widespread until the beginning of the 1830's when a change occurred."[13] Molland comments that this change was "sharply defined in Norway because of the founding in 1811 of Norway's own University. From the time lectures began there in 1813, Norwegian theological students came under an influence quite different from that which their older contemporaries had experienced at Copenhagen."[14] The two theological professors engaged, Hersleb (d. 1836) and Stenerson (d. 1835) were both proponents of traditional theology, in part influenced by the Haugean revival movement, in part by the emotionally oriented Christianity of Pastor N.F.S. Grundtvig, a Danish pastor whom they knew well from their student days in Copenhagen. "The most beautiful expression of the Hersleb-Stenersen pastors' Christianity and message is to be found in M.B. Landstad's hymns and his hymn book of 1869."[15]

---

[11] Koht, p. 58.

[12] Larsen, History of Norway, p. 360.

[13] Einar Molland, Church Life in Norway, 1800-1950, trans. Harold Kaasa (Minneapolis, 1957), p. 25.

[14] Molland, p. 26.

A more aggressive exponent of the Grundtvigian "Churchly view" was the Christiania pastor Wilhelm Andreas Wexels (d. 1866). His hymns and extensive publication of religious books were a positive influence in the life of many a young seminarist. His influence declined sharply, however, after a revised edition of Pontoppidan's Explanation to Luther's Catechism, which had been authorized in 1843 and introduced into the elementary schools and which he as a member of the royal commission had helped to edit, was sharply protested by the laymen. Protests from laymen to the Storting resulted in a new royal decree in 1852, authorizing the old version. Religious freedom had become a reality in Norway in 1845 with the legal removal of the law against dissenters. The Government perhaps feared repercussions resulting in a loss of its church members who might thereby organize free congregations.

"The Explanation decision of 1852 represented a victory for the pietistic orthodoxy of the laymen over Grundtvigian ecclesiasticism, a victory for the lay movement over the clergy and a victory for the farmers over the official class."[16] Nevertheless Grundtvig's influence lived on in the church, especially through his hymns which were included in the hymn books and through his concept of the church as the nation's spiritual home.

---

[15] Molland, p. 28.

[16] Molland, p. 34.

Gisle Johnson (1822-1894), who became a professor of theology at the University in 1860, had his theological training in Germany and was staunchly traditional. The religious awakening of the 1850's and 1860's became identified with his name. The Johnsonian Revival was even more significant in its effect on society and Norwegian ecclesiastical status than the Haugean movement. As a result the lay movement eventually gained official sanction. The brilliant Old Testament scholar Carl Paul Caspari and Johnson "had a decisive influence on generations of theological students who were to shape the development not only of the Church in Norway, but also of daughter churches in the new world."[17]

The late 1870's and 1880's felt the impact of positivism as an outgrowth of the theories of Darwin and the development of the scientific spirit which produced widespread secularization. In the closing years of the nineteenth century the Church as an authoritarian institution was challenged by a new relativistic and liberal intellectual outlook.

Political and Economic Influences.--In the first three decades of the nineteenth century, the professional class assumed the leadership; they were by education and experience the group qualified for the arduous task of creating a national structure.

---

[17] Larsen, History of Norway, p. 360.

Implicit in their role of leadership was their consciousness of upper class status.

The nation was proud of its constitution and freedom. Constitution Day, May 17, was first publicly celebrated by student groups in Christiania in 1824. The demonstration met with the king's displeasure. Not until 1829 and the circumstances surrounding the "battle of the market place" in Christiania did the day become of even deeper significance to the people. Karen Larsen's *History of Norway* (p. 406) states that on this occasion the police ordered the large crowd to disperse. When they did not, the *statholder* ordered the infantry out to charge through the crowd. No shots were fired. Henry Wergeland, a young university student among those present, later satirized the event in "a cartoon and a satirical farce." The king himself disapproved the show of force used by his *statholder*. When he died soon thereafter, King Karl Johan did not appoint a new *statholder* but allowed Jonas Collett, "the ranking minister in Norway head the government." No further disturbance marked the people's celebration of Constitution Day.

In the 1830's the country could turn its attention to internal problems because of the more relaxed foreign situation. The successful popular uprisings in Europe and the consequent disintegration of reactionary forces made Norway's constitution and liberal ideals no longer suspect. Sharp antagonism between the common people and the aristocrats, the farmers and the bureaucrats, the liberals and the conservatives came to the foreground. The official class, true to their ideals inherited from the Enlightenment, tried to stimulate the interest of the wealthy freeholders to a more active participation in the Storting. As radical elements came to the fore, ~~the~~ official class and aristocrats tended toward a more conservative attitude. The farmers seeking to improve their status joined the Liberals. Not until 1833 did the common people obtain a majority in the Storting. In 1837 control of local affairs became by law a matter of popular control through election of representatives to do the will of the people.

The high point of activity came in the 1840's and 1850's. These decades show the government's interest in economic development and expansion of business. With the expansion of business interest, reflected in a program of internal improvements through better means of transportation and communication, the dominant tone became more materialistic. Industrial plants, based on English models, and often promoted by English capital, were established. Home industries adopted newer practices. The merchant marine expanded its carrying trade and a significant reform was made in agriculture. During the 50's the government appropriated funds for country agricultural schools to train agents from the farming areas in scientific approaches.

The economic emphasis caused changes in social patterns, as more of the rural population sought increased opportunity in the industrial plants of the cities. For many, however, these decades meant emigration because of the lack of economic opportunity.

Injustices in the use of the franchise involving voting privileges only to property owners were a contributing factor to the common man's interest in William Thrane's instigation of the labor party. Its program suggested practical reforms involving suffrage, better educational opportunities, reduction of terms to crofters wanting to buy land, and universal military service. Authorities alarmed at the radical notions arrested Thrane and some of his followers. In 1859, when Thrane was released from prison the movement had collapsed.

Throughout the 60's and 70's the rural areas agitated for social reforms, and the cleavage between the conservative and liberal groups widened at the insistent demand for more democratic involvement. It is significant that "from 1866 to 1873, came a brief period of unprecedented emigration, as 110,896 persons left for America compared with 77,874 in the preceding forty-five years."[18]

Industrial growth focused attention on labor. The Norwegian Labor Party, organized in 1887, reaffirmed the socialist views of Thrane. This emergence of labor proved to be the most significant of the patterns of change during the century, for it "marked the transition from the old agricultural economy to the metropolitan civilization of the present."[19]

---

[18] Larsen, p. 467.

[19] Theodore Jorgenson, The Cultural Development of the Norwegian People (Minneapolis, 1930), p. 149.

### Educational Programs.--

> It was early recognized by the Norwegians that through the means of education, better than any other way, they could develop a people qualified to pursue the arts, to cultivate the sciences, to appreciate and enjoy the highest culture, and to maintain and develop their noblest ideals of citizenship and richest conceptions of statehood.[20]

Until about 1850 rural areas in Norway maintained the ambulatory schools (Omgangsskoler), whereby each home became the school for a certain number of days during the school period. The curriculum stressed learning to read, memorizing the Catechism in preparation for confirmation, and singing. The school law of 1848 making common school mandatory from age seven to confirmation age applied only to the towns. Some of the more important towns had Latin Schools for boys and gave preparatory status for the university in a classical type of curriculum.

With the passing of the school law in 1860, the ambulatory school declined since the law provided for the building of school houses. Compulsory school attendance was demanded of all children from age seven to fourteen in all the school districts of the herreds and parishes. Permanent school buildings were to be constructed in all districts where the farms were located conveniently enough so that thirty pupils could attend daily. In more remote areas of the country the ambulatory schools provided the instruction. The curriculum was also extended and while religious instruction was still paramount, the law also provided for the

---

20 David Anderson, The School System of Norway (Boston, 1913).

teaching of writing and arithmetic and the inclusion in school readers of "selections on history, geography, and general science,"[21] with special emphasis on the local aspects of the last three through teaching about the national life in city or rural areas of Norway (hjemstedslaere) or (heimbygdskunnskap). Vocal music and gymnastics were also required subjects. Legislation upgrading elementary education was also passed in 1889.

School reorganization was effected for secondary education in 1869 and again in 1896 to include the middle school (Middelskole) and the gymnasium. The middle school was an extension of the elementary school's general education program (a period of four years after 1869), while the gymnasium continued this general education program for the young people when they had completed the middle school. The passing of the examen artium after three years of work at the gymnasium served as a matriculation examination for entrance to the University. Instruction was uniform for all students until they entered the gymnasium, at which time they might pursue either the Real course of instruction, mainly scientific in content, or the Linguistic-Historical curriculum, devoted largely to the liberal arts.

The educational program for the public elementary schools (Folkeskoler) in 1869 was largely the work of the progressive leader, Ole Hartwig Nissen. His ideas, based on the social needs of the country, modernized the educational system by providing an opportunity for students to explore scientific and vocational activities as well as the formerly exclusive classical curriculum. Schools were administered by the State through the Department of Ecclesiastical and Educational Affairs, whose head was a member of the King's Cabinet. The co-ordination of departments was possible because the population, on the whole, belonged to the State Church of Norway.

---

[21] Larsen, History of Norway, p. 452.

Christopher Bruun became the prime force in developing the folk high school movement in 1864. A pastor, he tried to stimulate an enthusiasm for nationalism, through connoting the love of country with the ethical idealism of Christianity. The movement was an outgrowth of a similar pioneer effort made earlier in Denmark by Pastor N. F. Grundtvig. These schools were not high schools in the conventional sense of teaching knowledge. They were, rather, schools to promote and to stimulate intellectual life. Through inspired lectures designed to awaken interest in "history, literature, and the mother tongue," states Knut Gjerset in History of the Norwegian People, II (p. 553), the folk high school aimed to prepare its students "for a successful life in the home environment."

Teachers' Seminaries in each of Norway's six dioceses were established to train teachers for their prospective positions as educators. Their preparation corresponded rather closely to that in the American normal schools of the period or "similar to teachers' schools in other lands."[22]

---

[22] Anderson, p. 53. Other sources which have been consulted on

Cultural Developments.--Although the spirit of national romanticism stirred religious, political, economic, and educational life, it was the re-awakening of cultural life which essentially characterized the period. The essential feeling for nationalism in the early 1830's "made a forward thrust in connection with 'Norskheds-bevaegelsen', that is the movement for Norwegianness,"[23] and creative work of high order began to emerge in all branches of the arts.

### Linguistics

In the area of linguistics Ivar Aasen (1813-1896) did yeoman service in trying to establish a uniquely Norwegian written language. "Instead of regarding the dialects either as degenerated forms of the standard language, as many did in his time, or as persistently deviant modes of expression, he held that they were the true heirs of the old Norwegian language."[24] He proceeded to study those dialects closest to Old Norwegian, published a grammar for the new language in 1864 and a dictionary in 1873. In 1885 the Storting legalized this Norwegian folk language as a language of equal dimension with the Danish influenced book language for use in schools and official business. The language was called Landsmaal. "As late as the 1880's his language was little more than a plaything

---

schools include: Arne Jensen, The Rural Schools of Norway (Boston, 1928); Oluf Høyem, Bynesets skolesaga 1740-1914 (Svorkmo, 1916); O. J. Høyem, Bynes og Brevik (Trondhjem, 1894).

[23] Oscar J. Falnes, National Romanticism in Norway (New York, 1933), p. 27.

[24] Einar Haugen, Language Conflict and Language Planning (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), p. 33.

of idealistic linguists and poets, one of the many cultural novelties in an era when national life had attained high fruition and vigor."[25] By 1890 Landsmaal became a subject in the curriculum of the teachers' colleges, and pupils in the schools were required to learn it as well as the book language, a requirement which persists to this day.

Another reformer in linguistics was Knud Knudsen (1812-1895), whose efforts were directed toward modifying Danish spelling in the direction of Norwegian pronunciation. His grammar of 1856 Handbook for Dano-Norwegian Grammar was the first systematic attempt to remove the Danish orthography and to substitute native words for foreign ones. Eventually the Ministry of Church and Education authorized these changes, thereby maintaining two written languages in Norway. The Dano-Norwegian, after 1899 referred to as Riksmaal, was in consequence of the Ministry's approval gradually able to free itself from its "linguistic union with Denmark."[26]

## Literature

Scholars sought to recreate the past through writing its history. Peter Andreas Munch in Det Norske Folks Historie gave validity to Norway's growing national spirit through its thesis that "within the unity of the norrøn (Old Norse) culture, Norway had the leading role; the language was hers and the old literature took its rise 'from, in, by and for' her."[27]

---

[25] Haugen, p. 36.

[26] Haugen, p. 54.

Rudolf Keyser and J. E. Sars also interpreted the nation's historical development. The most vocal of the patriots, Henry Wergeland, expressed a profound love of country and belief in its future in an outburst of emotional lyrical poetry. He urged the people to rely less on Danish traditions, to welcome other foreign intellectual currents, but to rely on their own indigenous _bonde_ (rural) culture. A divergent point of view was that expressed by Henrik Welhaven, who represented the thinking of the official bureaucracy, or upper class. This group was rooted in Danish and cosmopolitan cultural tradition and favored its continuance in building a national culture. Welhaven's poetry bore the classical stamp. To him Wergeland's outbursts of emotional feeling and his freedom of form or disregard of it seemed lacking in good taste. "Later history was to show a blending of the two opposing currents of thoughts, although of the two Wergeland has had the more vital influence upon his country-men."[28]

A. O. Vinje was the poet of the common man and expressed his sentiments in the _Landsmaal_. The organization of the Norwegian Society in 1859 found two staunch promoters in Ibsen and Bjørnson. Its prime purpose was to stimulate national pride in Norway's literature and art and more specifically "to oppose the

---

[27] Falnes, _National Romanticism in Norway_, p. 142.

[28] Larsen, _History of Norway_, p. 421.

Düsseldorf tradition in painting and the Danish influence on the stage."[29] It was Ole Bull who established the first Norwegian theater in Bergen. It was to be dedicated to the development of Norwegian talent,--musicians, poets, actors.

Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson (1832-1910) was a part of the theater group from 1857-1859. An intense patriot, he identified himself with the movement relating the bonde culture with the old saga traditions. His drama, Sigurd Jorsalfer, his novel, Synnøve Solbakken, and his lyric poetry reveal his early identification with national romanticism. After 1870, his work reflects the social upheavals and the positivistic philosophy of evolution and science. In 1861 Ibsen was engaged by the Bergen theater, with which he was associated for five years. His early works too reflect his interest in Norway's past as, for example, the Vikings of Helgeland. Two later dramas, Brand and Peer Gynt, indict the Norwegian people for not assisting Denmark in her war of 1864. The idea of Pan-Scandinavianism was evidently but a romantic impulse among the Norwegians, one which they were not prepared to defend. After the 1870's Ibsen's plays show a change of philosophy. A Doll's House, Ghosts, Enemy of the People reveal Ibsen as the skeptic who denies and challenges established values in a vein of pure realism.

In the 1880's Alexander Kielland, Arne Garborg, and Jonas Lie also joined the ranks of the liberal thinkers. In the field of art the era shows that its painters also had discovered the native beauty of Norway's landscape as evidenced by the work of I. C. Dahl. The *bønder* were idealized in the romantic paintings of Adolph Tidemand and Hans Gude. Nor should the names of Niels Abel and Sophus Lie be overlooked, for they won international recognition in the mathematical discipline.

---

[29] Falnes, National Romanticism in Norway, p. 42.

### Folk Songs and Hymns

The collection of folk song material was fruitful in revealing the *bonde* customs and traditions. The lighter, metrical, rhyming style of the folk songs with their frequent use of stanza and refrain revealing the penetration of south European influence and indicating a close connection with the dance provided an especially rich source of earlier customs. The song dance "originated quite early in Norway, and in Iceland it is mentioned even in the eleventh century."[30] Widely used by the common people in their homes during the winter season, and out of doors during the summer, the songdance which was a circle dance could be enjoyed by all,--a leader singing the stanza and all the participants joining in the refrain. The subject of the song dances most often dealt with the stories of the ancient sagas. Hulda Garborg says:

> For the young people the dance also became a school, an introduction to the old life, and a strengthening of the love of home and kindred. The young people learned also through the singing of the songs the good traits which the

---

[30] Hulda Garborg, "Norske Folkevisor, Norske Folkeskrifter," No. 8 (Christiania, 1903); "Sangdansen i Norderlandi," (1904); quoted in Gjerset, *History of the Norwegian People*, II, 95-96.

> song especially praised: courage and manhood, honesty and chivalry, self sacrifice in love, and friendship unto death, but shame and disgrace befell the coward and the one who was dishonest and faithless. Often the songs stimulated the people's minds by wit and sarcasm, yes, the song dance was used even as a judicial tribunal. If a man had done something wrong, two strong men took him between them into the dance and let him listen to verses full of spite and mockery, sung about his conduct. But he was allowed to reply as well as he could, and when they thought that he had heard enough, the case was thereby regarded as settled.[31]

The largest collections of these epic folk songs have been found in the Faroe Islands and tell of the deeds of Sigurd Fafnesbane.

Wiora mentions the survival of primitive customs in archaic folk music:

> Furthermore later customs seem to be survivals of archaic ones as, for example, the account of the round dance performed by young people on Christmas eve of the year 1020 in the cemetery of the Anhalt village of Kölbick. With this musical round-dance they were going through the motions of a wedding, carrying out the nuptial course according to ancient custom on the burial ground of their ancestors.[32]

Wiora later comments that "music played a far greater part in the central realities of life than it did later...It was an element in work, war, healing, judgment, whether performed during these activities or in ritual preparation and accompaniment...."[33]

Significant leaders in the nineteenth century in collecting and editing this folk-lore and folk song material were P. C. Asbjørnson, Jørgen Moe, and M. B. Landstad. Jørgen Moe, in his preface to Samling af Sange, Folkeviser og Stev i Norske Almuedialekten ("Collection of Songs, Folk Ballads, and Refrains in Norwegian Popular Dialects"), published in 1840, urged the preservation of the folk culture through collecting its poems and songs. Even more important was the Norske Folkeviser (Norwegian Folk Ballads), published in 1852-53 by M. B. Landstad, whose collection emphasized Norway's nationality from saga times to the present. The ballads were published in what he called the "Old Norwegian Language" because he saw in the various dialects a continuity with the Old Norse. Olea Crøger contributed her collection of folk songs to Landstad, who included them in his published work. "Landstad's work included an appendix of folk melodies contributed by Ludvig Matthias Lindeman, for forty-seven years the organist in Our Saviour's Church in Christiania."[34]

---

[31] Gjerset, 95-96.

[32] Walter Wiora, The Four Ages of Music, trans. M. D. Herter Norton (New York, 1965), p. 37.

[33] Wiora, p. 40.

Landstad was also a pastor, poet, and hymnologist. It was while serving a pastorate in Kviteseid that he began to collect folk songs, and he continued in this work during his years as a pastor at Seljord:

> His work in the field of folk song had great influence upon his development as a writer of hymns. Thus he learned to appreciate the force of that unaffected poetry, which, by means of direct and simple words, is often capable of making the most profound impression upon the

---

[34] Larsen, History of Norway, p. 440.

> soul. He called forth from his harp deep-sounding and forceful tones, that struck a sympathetic chord in the hearts of his people.[35]

Landstad's published hymns drew the attention of church officials to his work and led to his selection as the logical choice for preparing a new hymn book for the Norwegian Church. His Lutheran Hymnal, authorized for congregational use by the church in 1869, was the first such of Norwegian origin, the preceding hymnals having been Danish products. He revised the language of older hymns, made some excellent translations of new material, and contributed several original hymns. He was not successful in promoting his ideas for language revision and had to revise his material before publication to conform with the more conservative views of the church authorities, who felt that too many new terms from the dialects had been used. Landstad's hymns, with their peculiarly Norwegian individuality, have long been sung and appreciated on both sides of the Atlantic.

Another collector of folk ballads, Sophus Bugge, brought a more exacting scholarship to his collection of twenty-eight ballads, Gamle norske Folkeviser ("Old Norwegian Folk Ballads"), published in 1858. In the preface to his collection he pointed out that he had recorded the ballads as he heard them and had not altered the forms, the variants, nor the dialects. He presented a phonetic guide to pronunciation and treated all versions--Danish,

---

[35] John Dahle, Library of Christian Hymns, I (Minneapolis, 1924), 192.

Swedish, and Norwegian--objectively. His work pointed the way to a more scientific and realistic manner of editing. But Landstad's collection was the source "into which artist and poet delved for inspiration and which the farmer purchased or borrowed from his neighbor."[36]

Little had been done prior to the nineteenth century by way of recording the great treasure of folk melody. "The oldest traces of the art of melody in Norway date from the Bronze Age (1200-400 B.C.). Some forty huge metal trumpets dating from that period have been found...The typical trumpet signals are continually cropping up in Norwegian folk song," writes Else Marie Boden in an article on "Norse Folk-songs and Melodies" in The Norseman.[37]

Wiora states:

> The lur, that magnificent wind instrument of the Bronze Age in northern Europe, has been found in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, as well as in North Germany. In appearance and sonority these large S shaped bronze trumpet-like instruments give expression to the sense of brilliant clarity that was a dominating feature of this period. The ideal of a tense, proud bearing, reflected in the clothes and armor of the time, too, may well have affected the rhythm and melody of the music.[38]

"The oldest folk melody written down in Norway, so far as is known, is in the handwriting of 'Skaanske lov' from the 13th century. The text is in runes while the notes are the same as in the church sequences and in a four line note system."[39]

---

[36] Larsen, History of Norway, p. 439.

[37] The Norseman, IX (Sept. and Oct., 1951), 311-319.

[38] Wiora, The Four Ages of Music, p. 36.

One of the earliest known examples, written down by Hinrich Mayer in 1695, found its way into Mattheson's Etwas Neues unter der Sonnen oder das unterirdische Klippenkoncert in Norwegan (1740). In Paris in 1780, La Borde published six melodies to Edward Storm's Dølevisor, besides sixteen slaater and five Icelandic folk melodies in his Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne. Since La Borde did not visit the Scandinavian countries personally, he received these contributions from co-workers in Kjøbenhavn, among whom Johan Hartmann must especially be singled out.

Nyerup and Rahbek included some Norwegian melodies in their collection Udvalgte danske Viser fra Middelalderen ("Selected Danish Songs from the Middle Ages"), which they published in Kjøbenhavn in 1812.[40] Others who recorded folk melodies were L. D. Klüwer (1823), C. N. Swach (1830), Ole Bull, who wrote down slaater melodies played by Møllarguten in 1831 (some of which have been published but others lost), and Henry Wergeland.[41] But the great period of collecting and recording begins with Olea Crøger (1832-1855) from Telemark. With guitar slung over her shoulder, she walked through forests and wastelands into isolated areas, where, she had been told, someone knew a beautiful melody; and with her friendly manner persuaded reluctant, often old people, to tell old stories or to sing old melodies which she wrote down as she listened.

---

[39] Erik Eggen, "Vor Folkemusik," i Norges Musik Historie, I, ed. O. M. Sandvik and Gerhard Schjelderup (Kristiania, 1921), 106. The references to the two volumes of Norges Musikhistorie will hereafter be cited as NM, I or II.

[40] NM, I, 108-111.

[41] NM, I, 112.

Lindeman's collection of Aeldre og Nyere Norske Fjeldmelodier ("Old and New Norwegian Mountain Melodies"), in three volumes owes not a little to Olea Crøger. The folk melodies have strange patterns. Some show the influence of the old ecclesiastical modes dating back to the early Christian period in Norway's history from about 1000. Others seem to follow a unique pattern traceable to older scale patterns. Perhaps the uncertainty on the part of the singers themselves because of a conflict between older and newer tonal concepts accounts for some of the melodic effects. An excerpt translated from Ferdinand Rojahn's Music History, reprinted in Sanger-Hilsen gives the following information:

> ...As regards the melodies of our folk songs, it is difficult to decide about their origin or their age. Many of them are sung in the old Church modes. Their flowing melodic character reflects romantic influence (troubadour songs). Norway was not a stranger to the great movement which spread all over Europe from 1100 to 1300 and which gave new dimension to life and transformed social community life. It is surprising, nevertheless, that there seem to be indications of Arabian elements in our folk songs.
>
> There are three characteristics apparent in our folk melodies: they are 1) plaintive and lamenting, 2) gay and humorous, 3) wild and defiant. The last applies mainly to our roundels (springdans) and halling dances.
>
> Our folk songs have been associated with games or dancing from ancient times. In addition to these folk games or song-dances, the halling dance,

which is a bold and lively solo dance in duple time, and the spring dance which is a swinging and turning couple dance in triple time, evolved. These dances are played on the fiddle. Our Hardanger fiddle can be traced back ca. 1700. About the same time as the Hardanger fiddle came into use, the clarinet made its appearance among us. It came to us from Germany by way of Denmark. The *langeleik* and harp are older than these instruments. The *langeleik* (Old Norse *langleik* means length) has come to us from ancient Assyria. It has been in use with us since ca. 1650. The harp was used earlier. The *Flateböboken* (from the close of the fourteenth century) tells of instrumentalists with harps and fiddles and other miscellaneous instruments. Snørre mentions that harps were used in Norway from the time of Harald Haarfager. Instruments similar to harps have been known since ca. 1150. They were never used for the *skald's* (minstrels) songs, but likely with the folk songs.

Of wind instruments there were the so-called *lur* (from the Old Norse *Ludr*). This word includes nearly all instruments with strong, deep tones, while instruments with weaker and higher tones were called pipes. The horns were made of bronze and well constructed with deep, metallic, clear, and firm sounding tones. The instrument was held with both hands and curved upward over the player's head.

Beautiful and well preserved examples of the Old Norse *lur*, which were found in a peat bog on the Reivem *gaard* in Haaland, are on display in the National Museum. Besides the *lur* the ram's horn was used. As a rule the ram's horn had three holes to finger. At the exhibition of musical instruments in Oslo in 1914 there was a cow's horn with the following inscription: "Roland's Horn--the year of our Lord 1665." The exhibition's oldest instrument was the so-called *Rotta* similar to a lyre, from the fourteenth century....

Regarding the musical worth of our folk melodies they are significant in several respects. The melodies often have a sure and rounded construction and are so rich in content that they are well suited to further development. They

> are rhythmically interesting and also invite characteristic harmonizations and can be developed thematically, contrapuntally, and with variations. We have the best testimony to this in the arrangements which many of our preeminent composers have given us for mixed chorus, men's chorus, and orchestra. But the best evidence of the great national worth of our folk songs is to be found in Edvard Grieg, the most Norwegian of all Norwegian masters of music.[42]

## Development of a National Music

The bonde (rural) culture seems to have had a vital development but Norway's long "Danish period" did not stimulate a national music. In the early eighteenth century, music was usually of the Selskaps (social) variety for entertainment and enjoyment in the homes. Lacking a court and wealthy patronage such as that enjoyed by other European countries, few opportunities existed to develop talent. The Latin schools presented their students in concerts of oratorios and passions. In some cities the "Town Musician" engaged to take care of musical activities and to arrange programs for festival occasions proved helpful in promoting musical life among the people.[43] Some of these men were immigrants from Germany and had received excellent musical training. On the whole, however, music lacked leadership and as a result creative effort was almost non-existent.

---

[42] Sanger-Hilsen, xxviii, trans. N. M. Hoyem (Minneapolis, Feb. 1937), 1-2.

[43] Gerhard Schjelderup, "Selskapsmusikken" NM, I, 41-69. In an article on early musical development in Kristiansand in "Musikliv Utenfor Kristiania," NM, II, 220-224, Schjelderup mentions that the office of "Town Musician" lasted down to 1845, when A. Rojahn was appointed to the office. He contributed much by way of building musical activities by organizing the first male quartet (1845), a singing school for underprivileged children (1852), a men's chorus which he directed for nearly twenty-five years, and a Music Society (1867), mainly dedicated to the performance of vocal works.

It was an age of the dilettante, though by mid century a more serious effort was made by talented amateurs to promote musical activities through the establishment of Societies. The first such, organized by Jens Boalth in Bergen (1765) was the forerunner of the Harmonic Society, which Niels Haslund, John Grieg's father-in-law helped to found in 1769. John Grieg was an excellent 'cellist and a member of the orchestra. Edvard Grieg, his grandson, was to become the conductor of the Harmonic Society's concerts in 1880 and to elevate the Society's performances to professional status.[44] Trondhjem established a Musical Society in 1786 and engaged two professional musicians to assist in preparing its concerts, all given by amateur performers. Kristiansand's amateur musicians organized its first Musical Society about 1787 and in Christiania (Oslo) the city's dramatic club sponsored musical activities until the *Lyceum* was organized in 1810.[45] Norwegian cities which did not have established theater orchestras or a military *musikkorp* (band) had to depend solely on the ability and interest of its amateurs. In areas where Pietism was strongly entrenched as in the Stavanger area, religious influences often hampered public musical life though music was cultivated in the homes of the official class and the wealthy burghers as evidenced from this entry in the diary of "agent" Kielland Dec. 18, 1819: "I entertained the musicalsk Selskab here,--the excellent harpist, Miss Fredr. Pettersen; Berner, 1st violin; Lt. Terchelsen, 2nd violin; Schiøtz, viola; Jacob Kielland, Principal flute; Henr. Ploug, 2nd flute, Jonas Kielland, Bass v...."[46]

---

[44] Alfred Paulsen writes on musical development in Bergen; O. M. Sandvik, Trondhjem; Tønnes Birknes, Stavanger; G. Schjelderup, Kristiansand; K. Petersen, Hamar, in "Musiklivet Utenfor Kristiania," in NM, II, 202-227.

[45] O. M. Sandvik gives the picture of early musical life in Kristiania in "Musikforeningen," in NM, II, 157-175.

Sanger-Hilsen gives the following account of the life of Waldemar Thrane, who in 1817 became director and solo violinist of "Det musikalske Lyceum," the society his father, a wealthy merchant and amateur musician, had helped found in Christiania in 1810:

> "Waldemar Thrane is the first Norwegian composer to play a part in the musical life of Norway," writes Jacob Lankelinsky in Trondheim's Arbeiderbladet. Thrane was born in Christiania in 1790. His father, the merchant Paul Thrane, was a man of good standing, very much interested in the arts, and very musical. All of his four children were musically gifted and music was cultivated in the home. But it was the youngest, Waldemar, who was to bring lustre to the name... First he studied in Christiania, later in Paris, where famous musicians such as Reicha and Habeneck became his instructors in composition and Baillot his instructor in violin. In Paris he heard much excellent music and this certainly had a fructifying effect on his talent as a composer. Waldemar Thrane was the first Norwegian musician who sought out the music centers on the continent in order to develop his musical ability.
>
> In 1817 Thrane returned to Christiania and from this time on was the acknowledged leader of the city's musical life. Its center was the Lyceum, where Thrane was the director and the solo violinist

---

[46] NM, II, 218.

> for years. According to opinion at that time he was reported to have been an excellent director and charmed everyone with his violin playing. Had he been only a good performer... as so many others...his name would be forgotten today.
>
> It is as the composer of the music to Fjeldeventyret ("The Mountain Tale") that Waldemar Thrane is remembered today. As such, he is a part of Norwegian music history. Fjeldeventyret (with text by Bjerregard) was the first Norwegian "singspiel" to be written and was an immediate hit at its first performance. In Aagot's Fjeldsang ("Mountain Song"), the most characteristic melody of the work, Thrane demonstrated that he was a full-blooded national, for he attained the true home sounds to perfection. Otherwise the national idiom was not his strongest area. Above all, Thrane was a cosmopolitan and his musical language gave distinct evidence of this...Thrane did not live to be an old man. He died in 1828, just 38 years old. His other compositions, mainly cantatas, overtures, and dances are forgotten. It is as the composer of Fjeldeventyret that his name will live.[47]

The work of the musical societies was a private enterprise, however, and limited to those who were subscribed members. Their efforts revealed two needs: an adequate means to develop talent at home and a stable orchestra. The first of these was met, in part, as Tønnes Birknes points out, by the military:

> Military music made its first appearance in artistic ensembles with the organization of brigade bands...presumably with the carrying out of the army reorganization of 1842. These bands, and perhaps especially the band of the second Akershus Brigade stationed in Christiania, were, however, of invaluable significance for Norway's musical life at a time when the country lacked organized music education. Until well

---

[47] Sanger-Hilsen, xxxi, trans. N.M. Hoyem(October 1940), 6. (All translations are by the writer unless otherwise indicated).

> over the middle of the past century there was practically only one way to learn music...It was certainly a hard school, but many of our best musicians attended it. Johan Svendsen, Johan Halversen, and many of the country's performers, such as Bøhn, Ursin, Hans Nielsen, the famous flute virtuoso with the Royal Academy..., Oluf Svendsen, and many of the country's organists, singing and music instructors gained their first instruction as music students with the military.
>
> Paolo Sperati, an Italian born in Turin, in 1821, came to Norway as an orchestra conductor with an Italian opera company. In 1854 he was appointed director of the Akershus Second Brigade Band. He was a well-educated musician and a spirited conductor.[48] His colleagues in most of the other garrison cities were also foreigners, and it is to be assumed that the love of foreign music among the people of Norway was partly due to this circumstance. Of other older military instructors the well-known German born composer A. Reissiger should also be mentioned....[49]

## Concert Life

The concerts performed by members of the Societies before 1850 show some ambitious undertakings considering their amateur status. The Harmonic Society in Bergen presented eleven or twelve concerts a year between 1812-1838, which included Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven Symphonies and piano concertos by Mozart, Beethoven, Rhode, and Kreutzer. In 1863 Maczewski organized a private quartet named for the first violinist, Johan D. Beyer, Den Beyerske Quartet, which continued down through the years. In the same year Grieg compositions began to appear on the program when his wife-to-be

---

[48] His son, Carlo A. Sperati, directed the Luther College Band, Decorah, Iowa, and the Luren Men's Singing Society of the same city for many years. The writer's father was one of the soloists with Luren and served as president of the group for several years.

[49] Tønnes Birknes, "Militaermusikken i Norge," in NM, II, 14-15.

Nina made her debut singing his *Hjertet's Melodier*. In Trondhjem programs kept from 1832 when Schult was active in the *Musical Society* show performances of *Beethoven's Symphonies, nos. 4 and 5; Leonora Overture, no. 3; Egmont Overture; Overture to the Magic Flute; Haydn Symphonies*; and selections from Gluck, Hummel, Auber--all for orchestra. Mozart's *Te Deum* and Handel's *Messiah* were also presented.[50]

The general public had little opportunity to hear good music aside from the brigade music or theater music presented between acts of plays or an occasional concert given by traveling opera companies or soloists. The Kjerulf-Conradi Subscription concerts 1855-57 were the first of their kind to acquaint the people of Christiania with the sound of the symphony orchestra.[51] Concerts by the men's choruses and by the large singing festivals, composed of the country's male choruses, became common after 1851.

Orchestras were usually composed of members of the theater orchestra, complemented by other musicians, and a number of able amateurs, and the Music Societies who depended on their services were at the mercy of the players. Strings were sometimes inadequate; players failed to appear for a concert, making last minute substitutions necessary; there was a shortage of good wood-wind players (of oboe and bassoon especially); and, on the whole, conditions were precarious. Yet these amateur efforts kept the interest in instrumental music alive and the Societies actually laid the groundwork for the establishment of the later permanent orchestra. Not until Iver Holter's time (1886-1911) was this goal accomplished.[52]

---

[50] NM, II, 16.

[51] NM, II, 16. Conradi directed the Christiania Theater Orchestra 1853-54. He was also the writer of the first connected version of Norwegian music history. The little book *Musikens Udvikling og Nuvaerende Standpunkt i Norge* ("The Development of Music and Its Present Status in Norway"), written on the occasion of the World's Fair in Paris, 1878, is mentioned in NM, II, 16.

## Opera

Without patronage to underwrite the expense of producing opera, Norway could not afford to establish this art form. This circumstance was traceable to the political developments within the country. Furthermore the country lacked good singers, and without schools and conservatories to develop talent, the promising singers had to study abroad where they stayed to follow up their inclination for concert work or opera if such was their aspiration. No operas by native composers were presented in Christiania until Haarklou's Fra Gamle Dage ("In Olden Days") was produced in 1894. Mjøen observes that this was the first Norwegian opera produced since Waldemar Thrane's "singspiel" in 1824. Theaters were averse to presenting opera because there were no spoken parts.[53]

## Male Choruses

In the 1840's the spirit of "national romanticism" was expressed in the male chorus movement which assumed a role of national significance. The movement had strong, national roots from its inception. Powerful choirs of men's voices were especially adapted to give expression to the newly awakened national feeling. The 1840's were especially ripe for this type of organization. The intellectual awakening, which had stimulated an outburst of romantic poetry, of a revival of interest in Norway's past traditions, her folk ballads, her folk songs, her natural beauty of landscape, her _bonde_, needed just such an organization as the male chorus as an interpreter.

---

[52] NM, II, 171.

[53] Reidar Mjøen, "Operaen i Nørge," in NM, II, 241-244.

One of the pioneers in the movement was John G. Conradi, who organized a number of choirs in Christiania and neighboring cities (1843-1845) and made arrangements for the first singing trips and festivals. But the man who was to become the living spirit of the movement was Johan P. Behrens. It was he who shaped the tradition, and his organizational ability made it possible to extend the idea of the singing festivals, which had a steadily increasing growth. When he was twenty-five years old, he participated in a Scandinavian students' meeting at Lund in 1845, and was fired with enthusiasm by the male chorus singing of the Swedes and Danes. Returning home, he organized the Norwegian Student Singing Society in Christiania which has been in existence ever since. In 1847 he became the director of _Handelsstandens Sang Foreningen_ (Commercial Men's Singing Society), and in 1848 the _Haandverker Sang Forening_ (The Artisans Singing Society). Being the director of three male choruses made it possible for him to combine the groups and on April 6, 1850, the first joint concert was held in Logen's hall. One hundred seventy men participated, an unheard of number at that time in Norway. In addition to songs like Brudefaerden, Mendelssohn's "Bacchus Chorus" from Antigone, Bardernes Sang by Mehul were performed accompanied in part by piano, and by wind instruments and orchestra. Norwegian men's choruses have since followed the plan of singing both a cappella and accompanied choruses.

The first official music festival was held at Asker in 1851 with 173 participants and the second at Horton in 1853 with 355 participants. These were conducted like spring festivals with speeches and singing. At the fifth musical festival in Bergen in 1863, in which 528 singers participated, Kristofer Janson, Bjørnson, and Ibsen appeared as guests and speakers. M. A. Udbye of Trondhjem and Behrens both shared the director's podium on this occasion. It was after this festival that Ibsen wrote his well-known Paa Sangertog. The festivals had a noticeable effect in raising the quality of performance, and in stimulating native composition. "In addition to their social and national significance--their role in making Norwegian music known abroad was considerable. Behrens initiated the foreign tours when he took the Students' Singing Society to Paris in 1878."[54]

Behrens' concern for providing good material for men's choruses led him to translate poems, arrange songs and edit a number of collections for men's choruses. He spurred the native composers to activity, and when we recall the names Reissiger, Kjerulf, Nordraak, Grieg, Haarklou, Selmer, Sigurd Lee and in later years Olaf Paulus, Fridthjof Andersen and Sparre Olsen, we are aware of the vast amount of literature written for men's chorus.[55]

---

[54] O. M. Sandvik, "Norsk Korsang," in NM, II, 69-92.

Behrens put a tremendous amount of energy into the men's chorus movement; one could wish that his tremendous capacity for hard work, his rare organizational skills, and his fine musical ability had also been directed toward advancing the mixed choirs and orchestras of his day. (Repercussions of his work with the male chorus in Norway led to a similar movement among the Norwegian immigrants in America in the next generation.) Behrens also taught singing in the Christiania schools. He was concerned that the pupils were unable to read music and that the teachers of singing had little or no musical training. His _Sanglaere for Skolen_ was among the pioneer works in music education in Norway.[56] The Department of Church and Education engaged his services in the late 1860's to teach at summer institutes so that the teachers in the schools could improve their skills.

### Ludvig Lindeman's Contribution

Lindeman like Behrens taught singing in Norway's schools.

---

[55] O. M. Sandvik, "Conradi and Behrens," NM, II, 15-19. Behrens' collection of men's choruses included 40 volumes, containing 700 numbers; among the volumes are: _Samling af flerstemmige Mandssange_; _Sangbog for Mandssangforeninger_; _Firstemmig Mandssangbog_; _Lette Mandskor_.

[56] NM, II, 19.

Lindeman not only taught at the Waisenhuset (orphanage) elementary and middle schools, but in 1849 received an appointment to teach chant at the University's Theological Seminary. During the same period he was organist at Our Saviour's Church, was busy collecting his folk melodies, and writing hymn tunes and religious songs as well as organ compositions. He was a skilled contrapuntist, trained in the style of Bach. He arranged thirty of the ancient ballads in contrapuntal style for mixed choruses. The voice parts were difficult and the mixed choirs in Norway not highly developed enough to perform them well so that these works were seldom heard. But his best contributions proved to be his hymn melodies. They reveal a deeply religious nature, a lively imagination, and a great creative ability.

Hymn tunes inherited from Reformation times, distinguished by their beautiful melodies, had during the rococo period been adorned with flourishes and ornamental devices. Rationalistic taste opposed these pietistic hymn melodies with their ornate style on the ground that they were unsuitable for church use. But in the zeal to purify and improve the melodies, the rhythms were altered and the phrases became almost square cut. The melodies were set in an even note rhythm, with regular time values and fermatas at the cadences of the verse lines. Congregational singing became expressionless since the tempos were so slow that the people could not follow the thought of the words. As a result the members of the congregation either did not sing at all or sang each in his own rhythmic fashion.

Lindeman felt impelled to stimulate better church singing. Through his performance at the organ, his composition of new hymn tunes, and his influence as a teacher in the schools and at the University's practical Theological Seminary, he changed the pattern of participation. In addition to composing several hundred hymn tunes, he prepared the publication of *Martin Luther's Aandelige Sange* in 1859 with the assistance of Landstad. These were four part settings in the characteristic rhythm of Luther's *Geistlige Lieder*. In 1871 and 1872 the two volumes of *Melodies for Landstad's Hymnbook* were published and by 1877 they were authorized for church use. He included fifty-four of his own melodies. The preface of the work explained the changes he had made in the rhythmic movement. The unit note was now to be the quarter note instead of the half note. Irregular rhythm patterns were often made regular and the pattern of the ♩. ♪ frequently introduced was intended to provide a livelier rhythm. Fermatas at the ends of phrase lines were no longer to be used as indications for breathing; instead the phrase would usually end with an eighth note followed by an eighth rest. A tempo of ♩ = 60 M.M., or a little less if circumstances should require, was suggested. He advised organists who had not studied harmony to play the chorales as written; only those who had had such training should be at liberty to extemporize. Lindeman's harmonization came in for some criticism in his day. "Harmonically Lindeman was rather radical because he arranged both the older and the new melodies in modern harmony, often a little daring, but always interesting and sometimes surprising."[57]

The popularity of the hymn melodies was largely due to their livelier rhythms, which more nearly resembled the native folk melodies, and to their being a product of their own culture as an expression of national creativity. Lindeman's Koralbog also found favor among the immigrants in America, who continued to use his settings. It was Lindeman's work in revising the style of the chorales which gave rise to the "hymn book conflict" starting in 1858 when Joh. D. Behrens published his article "Concerning the Lutheran Hymn Melodies." Behrens, joined by Winter-Hjelm, hoped to see the hymn tunes restored to the rhythmic chorale form and harmonization of the Reformation period. But Lindeman's style prevailed. Lindeman, with his son Peter, also organized the first Norwegian Music Conservatory which has had great significance for the development of Norwegian music.[58]

### Significant National Composers

Ole Bull (1810-1880) earned an international reputation through his concert tours and brought prestige to his countrymen through his performance of the native folk songs and dances. His violin glorified them as the "soul of Norway" sang through his fingers. In December, 1845, he attended the Students' Singing

---

[57] Ferdinand Rojahn, "Ludvig Lindeman," in NM, I, 190.

[58] NM, I, 185-192.

Society Festival in Logen as an honored guest. He received such an ovation that he promised to write a composition in memory of the occasion. The *Saeterbesøget*, which included the well-known solo, *Saeterjentens Søndag* ("The Chalet Girl's Sunday"), fulfilled this promise.[59]

Halvdan Kjerulf (1815-1868) moved in the circle of the urban intelligentsia. He was as he said "Norwegian in his own way." His music attests to the fact that he was stirred by the country's folk songs. He may be considered a pioneer in the choral field as exemplified in his thirty songs written especially for male choruses. Though he did not venture into large forms, his piano works, the romances, and settings of poems by Norway's great lyricists all reflect the color of the Norwegian landscape and the peculiar quality of its folk music.

Rikard Nordraak's short career (1842-1866) was steeped in romantic love of country and faith in its future potential in music. Male choruses sang his *Olaf Trygvasson*, but the whole nation adopted his melody to Bjørnson's *Ja vi elsker dette landet* and made the song its national anthem.

Edvard Grieg (1843-1907) was to become the finest expression of the intellectual and spiritual rebirth of Norway. "As the wind, sighing through the strings of the aeolian harp, makes music, so the Norway of his time found utterance through Edvard Grieg."[60] His imaginative settings of the poems of Bjørnson,

---

[59] "The Norwegian Students' Singing Society's 90th Anniversary," in *Sanger-Hilsen*, XXVI (Nov. 1935), 12.

[60] David M. Johannsen, *Edvard Grieg*, trans. Madge Robertson (New York, 1945), p. 5.

Ibsen, Vinje, and Garborg give him high rank as a song writer. His piano transcriptions of folk songs are a rare preservation of folk art and his settings of religious folk songs for mixed chorus are uniquely national in spirit. His most individual compositions are the Norwegian Slaater,--piano pieces in which he employs strange harmonies and rhythms. The peculiar harmonic structure is enigmatic and reminiscent of the archaic harmonies of the folk tunes. His ability to communicate a national sentiment in terms that could be easily understood brought him international fame.

The work which Grieg eschewed in large forms was complemented by that of Johan Svendsen. Svendsen studied in both Germany and France and developed into the finest Norwegian symphonic composer of the era. As conductor of Christiania Music Society's Symphony Orchestra from 1872-1877, and again from 1886-1893, he worked hard to promote the symphony orchestra and to present contemporary works both from home and abroad. Though not a prolific composer, his orchestral works rank high artistically, combining strong national qualities of style and expression with classical restraint.

Under Johan Selmer, who was director of the Music Society's Symphony Orchestra 1884-1886, the same principle of promoting contemporary European and Norwegian music prevailed:

> One entire program was devoted to Norwegian composers in 1884 and featured Svendsen's Fourth Rhapsody, two songs with orchestral accompaniment by Ole Olsen, Holter's Andante, some Sinding songs with piano accompaniment

> and Selmer's Nordisk Festtog...The new music introduced in the Selmer period continued the policy of trying to awaken and shape musical taste. There was a vast difference in Christiania as a musical city in these years and the time when its people could scarcely understand one of Beethoven's easier symphonies.[61]

Wiora comments significantly regarding the national schools of the nineteenth century:

> The historical importance of these movements lies not merely in their contribution to the history of nationalism in the world. Rather they indicate also a re-animation of old and archaic forms of music that were not limited to a single nation but spread over all Europe and far beyond. When for example Chopin or Grieg used both the augmented fourth and double-bourdon in tonality and elementary polyphony they were renewing not specifically Polish or Norwegian traits but a common possession from archaic times. The so-called national schools of the nineteenth century began to revive extra and pre-Western layers of music, not only expanding the Western art of composition through their use but leading it out beyond its boundaries...[62]

## Emigration

The nineteenth century witnessed another movement which had begun when the Restaurationen had embarked from Stavanger harbor for America with fifty-two passengers in 1825. Since that time emigration had continued decade after decade until it had attained the proportion of a "Völkerwanderung." Though most of the emigrants were rural people, many professional men,--clergy, teachers, musicians swelled the tide. Economic factors were a basic cause but there were other reasons. Dissatisfaction with the social structure, the formalism of the State Church, the political bureaucracy also played a part. One writer observes: "I fancy that the dichotomy of culture was responsible for much of this feeling--in Norway were servitude and chains and slavery; across the sea in Oleana, men were, not merely men--there was small comfort in that--but gentlemen of position, and, of course, of wealth."[63]

---

[61] O. M. Sandvik, "Musikforeningen," in NM, II, 169-170.

[62] Walter Wiora, The Four Ages of Music, p. 141.

Dr. Ingrid Semmingsen analyses the movement as an outgrowth of the population explosion, together with a lack of economic opportunity, which led first to a migration of the people to the cities or within the country itself and later to emigration if they found no opportunity for livelihood at home.[64] She states that by the second half of the century, the youth of the country "wanted to get away." Those who owned no land, the cotters and day laborers, were especially vulnerable to the "America letters" with their news of social equality and economic opportunity. "Young people refused to become cotters...The terms of the cotter seemed to them to be conditions of slavery." There were many more favorable outlets open to them toward the end of the century, even though this might mean the eventual breaking of ties with family and homeland. This attitude caused one of the most significant changes in the social structure as the cotter class all but disappeared. Many were the landholders, too, who, weary of the social inequalities, no longer cared to remain at home.[65] But it was largely the youth who traveled "over the high mountains" in quest of better opportunity.

---

[63] Martin B. Ruud, trans. and ed., "Norwegian Emigrant Songs," Studies and Records, II (Northfield, 1927), 1-19. (Oleana is a reference to Ole Bull's "ill-fated" colony organized in Pennsylvania in 1852.)

[64] Ingrid Semmingsen, Norwegian-American Studies and Records, XI (Northfield, 1940), 69-72.

Poignant are the songs and ballads of the earlier emigrants. Though impelled to leave Norway, their love of native land recurs like a familiar cadence. The songs and ballads reveal fascinating reactions to the new land, ranging from disillusionment and vast loneliness to confidence and faith in its future. Small wonder that those from sheltered mountain valleys of Norway, in their westward trek to the wide, open prairies of America should have found adjustment difficult. Many must have felt as Rolvaag's Beret that "there was nothing to hide behind." The attitude of the later emigrants as reflected in their songs and ballads is quite different. Emigration to these people seemed to be regarded as a part of the progressive spirit of the time.[66]

The first emigrants, or the Sloopers, as they came to be known, had organized the Kendall Settlement in New York State; and later in 1834, many of these settlers had migrated to Illinois, where the Fox River Settlement in La Salle County was established. Two years later (1836) this settlement was enlarged by the arrival of a large number of emigrants.[67] Ole Rynning, with a large group of emigrants, went to Iroquis County, Illinois, in 1837 and met with disastrous experience in the Beaver Creek Settlement. "Rynning did a thing that was destined to make his name known throughout the length and breadth of Norway. He wrote a book entitled *True Account of America for the Information and Help of Peasant and Commoner*.[68] Norwegian emigrants came to Chicago as early as 1836 and many a tradesman, laborer, sailor, and professional man found that they could continue their occupations in this thriving metropolis. "In 1886 it was estimated that there were 60,000 Scandinavians in Chicago, of whom a very substantial percentage was Norwegian."[69]

---

[65] Semmingsen, Norwegian-American Studies and Records, XI, 76-81.

[66] See Theodore C. Blegen and Martin B. Ruud, Norwegian Emigrant Songs and Ballads (Minneapolis, 1936), and Einar Haugen, "Norwegian Emigrant Songs and Ballads," in Journal of American Folk Lore, LI (Jan.-March 1938), 73.

Settlers from the Fox River Colony moved into Wisconsin Territory in 1839, where three different settlements,--Muskego, Jefferson Prairie, and Rock Prairie were established, followed by the Koshkonong settlement in 1840. A steady influx of immigrants in the following decades resulted in the exploring and pioneering of other new areas in Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, North and South

---

[67] Theodore C. Blegen, *Norwegian Migration to America, 1825-1860* (Northfield, 1931), gives a documented account of the emigration movement. See also Ingrid Semmingsen, *Veien mot vest: Utvandring fra Norge til Amerika* (Oslo,1942, 1950) and *Utvandringen og det utflyttede Norge* (Oslo, 1952).

[68] See Theodore C. Blegen, "Leaders in American Immigration," reprinted from the *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, No. 28, p. 7.

[69] Carleton C. Qualey, *Norwegian Settlement in the United States* (Northfield, 1938), p. 38.

Dakota, and even farther westward to the region of the Pacific. "Three quarters of a million Norwegians migrated to the United States in the century after the arrival of the sloopers in 1825. The census of 1930 found 1,100,098 persons of Norwegian birth or of Norwegian and mixed parentage in the United States, to which may be added at least a million American-born persons of Norwegian ancestry."[70]

---

[70] Qualey, 231.

# II

# THE AMERICAN SCENE AFTER 1870

The decades following the Civil War revolutionized the pattern of American life. The Union Pacific Railroad which opened its lines of transportation in 1869 stimulated competition from other companies until forty years later a system of railroads unified the nation. There was a financial crisis in 1873 but it was of temporary duration. By 1876 the Centennial celebration in Philadelphia stressed the remarkable progress being achieved in industry and invention. The social structure was changing from an agrarian to an industrialized urban society and the population was soaring, with heavy concentration in huge metropolitan areas causing crowded conditions and making the assimilation of the inpouring migrants a genuine problem.

The dominant business civilization, led by rugged individualists fostered the "from rags to riches" idea exemplified in men like Andrew Carnegie. The philosophy of Social Darwinism encouraged the idea that social evolution differed little from evolution in nature and that the same natural laws applied to both. The traditional Christian ethic was challenged by the principle of the survival of the fittest, the implication being that the wealthy had a right to survive because they had demonstrated ability to progress while the poor were unfit because of their poverty; to help the poor was deemed unwise as it encouraged the unfit to survive. The philosophy pleased the rapidly developing capitalistic class; its fallacies occupied the attention of the reformer and eventually of the government in its interference with this "natural" progress, in which materialism, progress toward wealth, went ahead on the basis that exploitation would prove beneficial to society.

Farmers began to organize their own societies to protest economic inequalities and to protect their interests. The Grange, the Farmers' Alliance and eventually the populist movement of the 1890's led to the organization of the Populist political party which elected several Senators and Representatives to Congress, thus changing the complexion of that august body. Labor agitation through strikes and riots precipitated the organization of Labor groups. Spokesmen for the protest movement numbered philosophers as well as politicians. The spirit of the West was reflected in Henry George's Progress and Poverty and Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward, while its politicians--Donnelly, Bryan, and LaFollette--worked for progressive legislative reform measures. In the East such intellectuals as E. L. Godkin, editor of the New York Nation, and President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard pinpointed such vital issues as tariff reforms, the merit system, and imperialism; and its political programs were expressed through such leaders as Carl Schurz, Grover Cleveland, and Woodrow Wilson.

The financial panic of 1893-1896 brought hardship and increased zeal from the progressive elements. William Jennings Bryan's "Cross of Gold" speech won him the presidential nomination on the Democratic ticket, but it was Mc Kinley in his "full dinner pail" campaign who won the election. In Theodore Roosevelt's time there was an attempt to curb the growing power of the trusts and of big business. In the ten week Spanish-American war of 1898 another turning point in American history was reached as America began to emerge as a world power among the family of nations. The whole era reflected material progress with small gain in cultural advance.[1] Popular standards determined the yard stick of cultural quality. American musical life was dominated by European traditions. Most musicians looking toward a musical career went to Europe to study. "Most of the nineteenth century is merely an extended parenthesis in the history of American art music. Take it out and nothing vital is lost in the cultural continuity," says Gilbert Chase in speaking of the "cultivated fine-art tradition....The products, the techniques, and the carriers of European musical culture were transported to America."[2]

Immigrant Contributions

Not only the unskilled labor of the immigrants' hands but also the individuality of their native cultures and their own individual contributions of character, intellect, spiritual and moral experience enriched and colored American life. "It is safe to say that the zeal of the Norwegian immigrants in affording themselves and their children the opportunities of cultural development has equaled that of any foreign group."[3] It was due to the character, intelligence and talent, the dreams and hopes of the Norwegian pioneers that the work of carrying out the organization of such institutions as the church, the press, and the school, as well as that of releasing the creative impulses in music and the arts was initiated.

---

[1] Allan Nevins and Henry Steele Commager, History of the United States (New York, 1961), pp. 260-395.

[2] Gilbert Chase, America's Music (New York, 1955), p. 325.

The mainstream of Norwegian emigration had poured into America's mid west and by the 1900's four-fifths of all the Norwegian born in the United States lived in Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, North and South Dakota. Norwegian emigrants tended to keep together in small communities when they came to America. They settled where the earlier Norwegian pioneers had formed "mother colonies" and when they had the desire to push further westward they induced others to go along. "I believe the whole population of Wisconsin is moving westward," wrote Elisabeth Koren in her diary of 1854; "a young man who dropped in to visit the pastor and bring greetings from Pastor Preus yesterday said he had passed 300 covered wagons all belonging to Norwegians most of whom were on their way to Minnesota...."[4]

---

[3] B. J. Hovde, "Old Immigration, Norwegian-American," in *One America*, ed. Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek (New York, 1952), p. 68.

[4] See Elisabeth Koren, *Fra Pioneertiden: Uddrag of Fru Elisabeth Korens Dagbog og Breve fra Femtiaarene* (Decorah, Iowa, 1914).

Language.--Among the early settlers the old bonde customs and dialects were used just as they had been in the bygds (rural districts) of Norway. But as American influences impinged on them in their work-a-day world, the tendency, especially of the young people, to copy American customs modified both the older practices and the language. American words with Norwegianized adaptation came into being or the appropriation of new words caused confusion as new sounds and orthography were put into use. The writer's mother tells of one Norwegian immigrant who had risen to high office in his state. In one of his public speeches he startled at least some of his audience by declaring, "Consistency, thou art a djaevel!" (devil).[5]

Politics.--Interest in politics and self government was a noticeable trait in the Norwegian immigrants who early participated in the government of their local communities and later extended their participation to state and national levels. The Mid-West especially felt the impact of this active participation in American political life. Many Scandinavians joined the Populist movement in the 1890's, supported La Follette measures on a state and national basis, and became a powerful force in the Farmer-Labor movement in Minnesota. The descendants of the early Norsemen continued their interest in politics as a natural outgrowth of their past political training and experience.[6]

---

[5] See Einar Haugen, The Norwegian Language in America: A Study in Bilingual Behavior, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1953).

[6] Martin Ulvestad, "Nordmaend i offentlige stillinger," in Nordmaendene i Amerika, deres Historie og Rekord, I (Minneapolis, 1907),

The Church.--One of the chief concerns of the emigrants was to build churches. The preponderant number of Norwegian emigrants were Lutheran since the State Church of Norway was Lutheran. Many of the early emigrants, however, had come under the influence of the Haugean movement in Norway and were not in sympathy with the formalistic and authoritarian State Church. Others favored the orthodox Lutheranism of the traditional State Church. This gave rise to two conflicting schools of thought and to much dissension and strife as the Norwegian-Americans sought to organize the Lutheran church in America.

In the first years the lay people had to conduct all religious affairs; but as early as 1843 Elling Eielsen, a former lay preacher, was ordained by a German Lutheran pastor and became the first ordained Norwegian pastor in the Norwegian Lutheran church in America. He represented the "low church" attitudes which represented the pietistic, Haugean influence and favored an informal structure of church organization.

In 1884, Pastor Dietrichson, a university trained theologian arrived to organize congregations among the immigrants, according to the high church discipline, which emphasized the high office of the orthodox pastor and a well-organized synodical structure.

In the 1840's and 1850's other university trained theologians,--Brandt, Preus, Koren, Stub, Ottesen, Muus--many of them

---

359-429. Also see John D. Hicks, "The People's Party in Minnesota," in Minnesota History, V, No. 8 (November, 1924).

from the official class of families answered the call to serve the immigrant communities in the New World. By 1853 this group had established the Norwegian Synod which "soon grew to be the largest and strongest of the Norwegian Lutheran church groups. It was a closely knit, well-organized and well-disciplined body."[7]

Controversial issues regarding organizational differences, however, continued to engage the churchmen and the people throughout the nineteenth century and not until 1917 were these reconciled, at which time the Hauge Synod, the Norwegian Synod, and the United Norwegian Lutheran Church of America merged and formed the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. "Almost all of the churches employing the Norwegian language for forty years or more, also used English, and in 1936 the Norwegian-Lutheran Church in America first voted to drop the word 'Norwegian' from its name."[8] The work in effecting a church organization represents perhaps the greatest demonstration of organizational effort on the part of the Norwegian-Americans. The concept of separation of Church and State as embodied in American democratic tradition presented real challenges which included problems of self support, training a ministry, and religious education for youth. The problem of trying to establish the traditional Norwegian Lutheran religion and liturgy within the framework of a democratically oriented society inevitably meant a new orientation, a diversity of differences, and a compromise of attitudes.[9]

---

[7] David Nelson, Luther College 1861-1961 (Decorah, Iowa, 1961), p. 69.

[8] B. J. Hovde, "Old Immigration, Norwegian-American" in One America, p. 69.

Schools.--Parochial day schools were established in many congregations from their beginning. Teachers were expected not only to teach religion but also hymn singing and to serve as precentors to lead the congregational singing. This practice continued for many years in some localities. The *Evangelisk luthersk kirketidende* advertised for such a teacher on January 26, 1883:

> Wanted
>
> An able school teacher and precentor at Halfway Creek, Lewis Valley, and LaCrosse Congregations: The following terms are promised to anyone who may be interested: 1) an eight (8) months school term; 24 days shall constitute a school month of which four days are to be used for catechization; 2) one dollar ($1) for each school day and meals on school days; 3) sixty dollars ($60.00) yearly salary as precentor; 4) free-will offerings at festivals and at offerings for the minister...
>
> Those interested are requested to send applications and recommendations as soon as possible to
>
> Pastor O.C.D. Hjort
> Halfway Creek, LaCrosse Co., Wis.

"Secondary religious schools or academies were founded in more than fifty different communities between 1860 and 1890; but few of them survived more than ten years, and now there are virtually none left. A few normal schools and ladies' seminaries were maintained for a number of years, only to become extinct, along with the academies in the 1920's."[10] As the second generation of Norwegian-Americans became caught up in their own affairs and became less interested in the homeland of their parents, they turned to the township and village schools and to the public high schools after the turn of the century.

---

[9] See Clifford E. Nelson and Eugene L. Fevold, *The Lutheran Church among Norwegian-Americans* (Minneapolis, 1960), for the historical developments relative to these adjustments.

The problem of a well-trained ministry prompted the establishment of many colleges and seminaries. In the Mid-West, the Norwegian Synod clergy zealously promoted this cause by establishing Luther College in 1861. It had its beginnings in a parsonage at Half Way Creek, Wisconsin, but was moved to Decorah, Iowa, in the summer of 1862:

> The laymen supported their clerical leaders in striving toward this goal, but it is clear from the very start that the laymen felt strongly that attention should also be given to the need for a well-educated laity in the church.[11]

In 1874, St. Olaf's School was established as a co-educational school at Northfield, Minnesota, with the aim of providing a general education to prepare its graduates for "whatever sphere of action they might enter when their days of schooling were at an end."[12] This training also stressed the importance of a well-trained laity and clergy. In 1886 when a college department was initiated, the name became St. Olaf College.

---

[10] Hovde, p. 69.

[11] David Nelson, Luther College 1861-1961, p. 19.

[12] I.F. Grose, "The Beginnings of St. Olaf College," in Norwegian-American Studies and Records, V (Northfield, 1930), 111. Also see William C. Benson, High on Manitou, A History of St. Olaf College, 1874-1949 (Northfield, 1949), for a detailed account of the history of St. Olaf College.

O. M. Norlie's History of the Norwegian People in America (Minneapolis, 1925), provides a wealth of information on schools established by Lutheran church bodies in America. Augsburg Seminary was established in Marshall, Wisconsin, in 1869, but was moved to Minneapolis in 1872. It combined a theological seminary, college and preparatory department (Norlie, pp. 269-270).

Augustana College was separated from Augustana Theological Seminary at Beloit, Iowa, and moved to Canton, South Dakota, in 1884, and later, in 1918, to Sioux Falls, South Dakota (Norlie, pp. 281-282).

From 1890 to 1925 the Norwegian Lutherans founded thirty-eight new schools. Twenty-two of these were academies, of which one, Concordia, at Moorhead, Minnesota, became a college in 1891 (Norlie, p. 378).

Many other colleges were organized by the various church bodies, but the above named are some of the oldest colleges which still continue to provide religious training and a liberal arts program and to preserve the cultural heritage embodied in the history, literature, art, and music of Norway. The three church bodies which merged in 1917, to form the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America, also merged their seminaries into one body, the Luther Theological Seminary, with its location at St. Paul, Minnesota.

The Press.--When the Norwegian pioneers in Muskego started Nordlyset (Northern Lights), they were copying an American custom.

In Norway the rural people and working class read few newspapers before the middle of the century, states Dr. Ingrid Semmingsen.[13] Nordlyset was published by J.D. Reymert in Muskego, Wisconsin, 1847-1849, and favored the Free Soil Party. "Since then more than five hundred periodicals of various sorts have seen the light; but the rate of mortality has been high and most of them have ceased to be."[14]

Rasmus B. Anderson in Minneapolis Tidende, Jan. 29, 1897, speaks of the function of the Norwegian press as follows:

> In addition to bringing the usual news of the world the Norwegian press has the special obligation of gathering news about the Norwegians in America. It is the custodian of their history in their western home. Those who will write the history of the Norwegian-American...must look to the Norwegian-American press, and if the press discharges its task in a satisfactory way, it will not be so difficult for the story tellers to find that which they need...The Norwegian press is and shall continue to be a glorious bridge between Norway and America.--It is and shall be the well of remembrance where we may be repaid when we drink from the clear silver cup of the mother language. It is and shall be the young ground ash whose shady branches reach far enough to give a North-American cover wherever he may live and build in this great country....

The publications were both of religious and secular types. D. G. Ristad in the American Scandinavian Review comments:

---

[13] Ingrid Semmingsen, Utvandringen og det utflyttede Norge (Oslo, 1952), pp. 59-60.

[14] Laurence Larson, "The Norwegian Element in the Northwest," in American Historical Review (Oct. 1934), 74-75. See Carl Hansen's article on "Pressen til borgerkrigens slutning," and Johannes B. Wist, "Pressen efter borgerkrigen," in Johannes B. Wist, Norsk-amerikanernes festskrift 1914 (Decorah, Iowa,

> (The Norwegian papers) have kept close to the people, and if they have not furnished any epoch-making leadership in thought and action, they have supported every movement of uplift and general progress that arose among the people. The great amount of attention and space devoted to news of the churches and the doctrinal discussions show how large a part these things play in the minds of the readers. The publishers of newspapers, together with the publishing houses of the churches, have acted as dealers in and distributors of books of all kinds, and in this way have stimulated intellectual and esthetic tastes among the people....[15]

The Norwegian press was significant in helping the Norwegian immigrant to become acquainted with the institutions of America and with its customs. At the same time it provided a link with Norway and Norwegian culture and served as a means of communication for the widely dispersed Norwegian colonies throughout America.

Social Life and Organizations.--"Church meetings, church picnics, church socials, young people's gatherings in the basements of the churches, or at the homes of members, ladies' aid societies, men's religious clubs, mission festivals, and revival meetings in one or two of the church bodies--these have comprized most of the social activities of the organized immigrants and their children."[16]

---

1914), pp. 1-40; 41-203. Albert O. Barton, "The Beginnings of the Norwegian Press in America," in Wisconsin Historical Society Proceedings (Madison, 1916), pp. 186-212. Theodore C. Blegen, "The Early Norwegian Press in America," in Minnesota History Bulletin, III (St. Paul, 1920), pp. 506-518.

[15] D. G. Ristad, "The Church a Factor in Norwegian-American Development," in The American-Scandinavian Review, II, No. 2 (March 1914), pp. 34-38.

[16] B. J. Hovde, "Old Immigration, Norwegian-American," in One America, p. 70.

Social pleasures such as dancing and card playing were frowned upon. "The children of the immigrants were objects of much concern. When they began to forget the language of their parents and absorb the culture of their American contemporaries, an effort was made to prevent all mingling in surrounding society by decreeing the sinfulness of any pastime that tempted such association."[17]

The need to share and develop common interests led to the organization of several kinds of societies. Those who enjoyed singing and music organized singing societies, bands, and orchestras. Others organized dramatic, forensic, and literary societies. In some universities Norwegian student clubs presented Norwegian dramas. The *bygdelag* movement developed on a large scale. The *lags* (societies) were made up of emigrants from the same *bygd* (rural district) in Norway who met to share reminiscence and social festivity. Programs, Norwegian-American festivals and banquets were arranged and speeches were given in the native dialects. Many of the individual societies published yearbooks, which, when properly edited, have given historical data regarding the early settlers and their accomplishments in America. "The movement as a whole contributed to recognition of the value of *bygd* lore, especially the dialects and the wealth of music and dance and costume that each group represented and it encouraged among its members a popular interest in Norwegian background which may have had a wide influence."[18] Such fraternal groups as lodges called the Sons of Norway and Daughters of Norway were organized for mutual aid and support of their members and found their largest membership mainly in the cities.[19]

---

[17] Marcus L. Hansen, "Immigration and Puritanism," in *Norwegian-American Studies and Records*, IX (Northfield, 1936), 21.

---

[18] Theodore C. Blegen, Norwegian Migration to America: The American Transition (Northfield, 1940), p. 543. See also A. A. Veblen's "De Norsk-Amerikanske Bygdelag," in J. S. Johnson's Minnesota (St. Paul, 1914), pp. 133-139 and A. A. Veblen, The Valdris Book (Minneapolis, 1920).

[19] See Carl Hansen, A History of Sons of Norway: An American Fraternal Organization of Men and Women of Norwegian Birth or Extraction (Minneapolis, 1945).

## III

## JOHN DAHLE OF VALDRES COMES TO AMERICA

### Valdres

Valdres, a fylke (county) in Norway, lies in a large interior valley drained by the Begna River. Its course, less than one hundred miles, has a drop of 2745 feet and is turbulent and swift. Its powerful falls and cataracts resound through the valley. Here green slopes are brilliant in the sun of summer and vivid against the sky of winter. The county includes six herreder (townships). The East Valley above Fagernes, East Slidre herred, is one access leading up into Jotunheimen, the vast area of glaciers and towering peaks.

Life was difficult for the rural folk in times past. The mountain terrain prohibited extensive cultivation of the land, but the grassy uplands provided grazing for cattle during summer months. Dairy operations during these months meant hard work for the women and children who took care of the saeters (dairy establishments), while the men operated the farms. At summer's end processions of cattle and their keepers, who were in gala mood, returned to glad homecoming. There was time for visiting, for having company, for sports and games. Around the hearth-fire old legends were recalled and songs were sung. It was a busy time with families co-operating in supplying home needs.

The parishes of the State Church co-incided in general with the administrative organization of the townships. The parish church was the heart of the settlement. The churches were for the most part pre-Reformation structures. Most were wooden *Stavkirker*, a characteristic type of ancient church architecture in Norway. Originally without windows, only small openings, closed by means of wood blocks, gave light. Since congregations in the pre-Reformation era did not participate in the reading of the lessons or in the singing, the light was perhaps sufficient. Following the Reformation, hymnals came into use and congregations participated in the singing. Windows were added and sometimes extended wings were built. Distinctive patterns of wood carving ornamented doors and angled arches.

Most important were the belfries, not a part of the churches proper but built in similar design alongside. Church bells assumed great importance to the rural communities. They tied the community together in a mutual call to devotion, announced church festivals and other significant events. Legends even maintain that the bells had power to break the magic spell of the troll people who sometimes lured innocent visitors into depths of forest and mountain caves.

There were no towns as such in Valdres; only a few small villages or closely adjoining farms formed a settlement. Here as elsewhere in Norway's rural areas, school was conducted in the farm houses in the district. The main objective of these in early times was the teaching of reading and the preparation of the young people for confirmation through memorizing the Catechism and singing hymns.[1] By 1860, the school laws, making school attendance mandatory for all children from age seven to fourteen and providing for school houses also offered a more comprehensive curriculum in reading, writing, and arithmetic.

The stirring of the national spirit penetrated into the most isolated areas of Norway. Valdres too had its legends, its folk tales and folk songs. As early as 1848 Andres Vang published an account of marriage traditions in Valdres, written in the "book language." In 1850 he published his first collection of folk tales, _Gamle Reglo o Rispo ifraa Valdres_ ("Old Tales and Riddles from Valdres"). It is a pioneer work in the publishing of tales in native dialect. Vang's remaining collection appeared in part in 1871, _Gamle Segner fraa Valdres_ ("Old Legends from Valdres"), many of which seem to have been lost by the publisher.

> Vang had a good ear for music and had a notable singing voice. Notes, or written music, were in his day wholly unknown among the country populace. But in his splended memory he had stored and he could render the airs of all the hymns in the church manual, as well as those of the popular

---

[1] Andrew A. Veblen, _The Valdris Book_ (Minneapolis, 1920), pp. 9-43. See Veblen, pp. 11-13 regarding the various forms of the name Valdris, Valdres, Valders. Although by 1920 the official spelling of the name of the county was Valdres, Veblen uses the form Valdris "as giving in English a nearer approximation to the pronunciation than the official spelling."

> songs of the community, having been taught them by his father, who in turn had been taught by the grandfather. During a number of visits with Lindeman in the city and at Vang's home, the former wrote down from Vang's singing, the music to the hymns of his standard collection.[2]

## Childhood and Youth

John Dahle was born in East Slidre, Valdres, January 3, 1853, the son of Johannes Nilsen Dahle and Anna Jons-datter Nordtop. Johannes Dahle was the klokker or precentor in East Slidre.[3] As such he led the congregational singing in church and taught singing in the parish school.

The young boy John was a sensitive child, with vivid imagination. He learned to love the beauties of the countryside, its sounds and colors, its forests, fjords, and rivers. So vivid was his remembrance of them that on his return to Norway after a twenty-five years' absence he recounted the following in a talk given at a Valdris Stevne (gathering) in Como Park in 1901:

> I will tell you about a man who returned after a twenty-five years' absence to visit his old home in Valdris.
>
> It was a beautifully clear, fine, sunny day when he went up through the valley. The fjord lay gleaming and glistening far below. Fresh, green plots of grass and fine farms nestled along the hillsides...And down over the expanse were the forests of dark spruce basking in the sunlight. The cataracts rushed down with such speed that the water threw a spray of mist high into the air. The birds sang and the birches trembled in the warm wind. When he had climbed higher up the slope to get a view of the whole valley, it was

---

[2] A. A. Veblen, ed., Vang's Valdris Rispo (Fullerton, California), p. 10.

[3] Haakon Nyhuus, ed., Konversations Leksikon, II (Kristiania, 1908), 592.

> as if he were a small boy again. He began to run up through the hills. The blue mountain tops appeared to reach up toward the heavens. Their white crowns beckoned to him. Everything seemed so alive... There seemed to be music all around, sounds of the harp and organ that united in a mighty song of praise such as he had never heard before. The air was so clear and pure; it seemed as if he could look right up into the eternal home.
>
> But he must go further. He entered the forest; the air was filled with fragrance. The river lay sparkling between its green banks. It was here he had tumbled and played and leaped and sung when he was a small boy. He recognized each stone. He had to climb up on the largest one and leap down again just as he had in his youth. There under the big trees he had sat and learned his Catechism and Bible history; there he had read fairy tales; there he had played the violin. He had to go and sit down there once more....[4]

He was an intelligent boy who had a thirst for knowledge. He attended the parish school, which gave him his basic instruction in writing and arithmetic as well as continuous instruction in religion and singing. His home, too, was a musical one in which he learned early to appreciate the hymn tunes and folk songs of his homeland, to sing and to play the violin and organ. After confirmation the period of his formal education in East Slidre parish came to an end.[5]

The newly established Teachers' Seminary at Hamar (1864) from which he was graduated in 1870, provided the next step in his education. However, upon completing his work there he had no desire to teach. He had developed his musical skills, had acquired a keen interest in drama and literature and was keenly interested in continuing his education. His home community offered no opportunity other than that of teaching or becoming a landowner. He was young, intellectually curious, and caught up in the spirit of the times. He too wanted to go out "over the high mountains," but circumstances were limited. It was his good fortune to be able to continue his studies under Provst Ording (later Dean Ording), in whose church in Østre Slidre, he also conducted his first church choir. Ording tutored him in French, Latin, German, and the other necessary subjects for matriculation at the University, and he successfully passed the examen artium. This led to Professor Ludvig Ludvigsen Daae's recommendation of his appointment as a substitute teacher at the Aars and Voss School in Christiania. Here he continued his literary and musical studies and appeared in operas and dramas at the Christiania Theater. It was a stimulating experience to meet and work with such colorful personalities as Johannes Bruun, Laura Gundersen, Henrik Klausen, Johan Svendsen, Selmer, and others.[6]

---

[4] J. J. Skørdalsvold, "John Dahle," in Valdreser i Amerika, Aarbok 1922 (Minneapolis, 1922), pp. 87-88.

[5] Arne Jensen, The Rural Schools of Norway (Boston, 1928), p. 95. Jensen states that sufficient knowledge in the religious subjects to qualify for confirmation was necessary for permission to withdraw from the common schools.

Other personalities in the world of music in Christiania also left their impact on the young Dahle. Though there is no specific reference to Dahle's ever having worked under Joh. Behrens, there can be no doubt that Behrens' work in creating a national male chorus festival movement, in conducting Studenternes and Handelsstandens Sangforeninger, and in editing song materials for male choruses was not lost on John Dahle. The same was also true of Ludvig Lindeman's influence through his collecting of folk music, his innovations in church music and singing, and his publishing of Koralbog. At Our Saviour's Church Lindeman was bringing new vitality to church singing and the chorale and demonstrating his excellent abilities as an organist and composer of church music.

---

[6] Skørdalsvold, "John Dahle," in Valdreser i Amerika, Aarbok 1922, p. 95.

Again John Dahle was faced with a decision. His theater friends encouraged him to make a career of the stage, but much as he loved drama he could not visualize the role of an actor as a permanent career. There was also the possibility of teaching and continued study at the University. Or he might continue his life in music. In the later 70's the immigration surplus in Christiania was 13,663. Migration continued although opportunities for making a living were not expanded. Naturally this led to continued migration in search of better opportunity in America.[7]

The lure of the land across the sea was real to young people seeking professional careers too. An uncertain and unprofitable future loomed on the home scene. To emigrate might mean the opportunity to build a niche as purveyors of culture in a pioneer world across the sea. "America letters" received from former residents of the Valdres district, recounting their experiences and reactions to life in the New World were constantly being received and discussed. Some who were especially satisfied with their new life encouraged others to emigrate by giving advice regarding necessary items to pack, even including the books which would be useful. Others stressed the social inequalities in Norway and spoke of the acquiring of new approaches to problems in America: "It is not true that Norwegian or other national groups retain their own ways, believing they are best. He who hangs on to the old ways when they do not pay will lose out. He must learn anew...." Much concern lest her parents decide to emigrate is expressed in one letter: "I advise you not to forsake that secure little home to seek the uncertain here...Older people who have come are not happy about having taken the step."[8] These and similar letters had been received in every district of Norway, and it was largely the young people who responded to the fascinating accounts of the new world.[9] For John Dahle, too, emigration seemed the logical choice. In 1876, he married Miss Johanna Sørlie and in the same year he and his wife emigrated to America.

---

[7] Ingrid Semmingsen, "Norwegian Emigration to America during the Nineteenth Century," in Norwegian-American Studies and Records, XI (Northfield, 1940), 79.

---

[8] Carleton C. Qualey, "Seven Letters from Valdres," in Norwegian-American Studies and Records, XXII (Northfield, 1965), 144-161.

[9] See Theodore C. Blegen, Land of Their Choice: The Immigrants Write Home (Minneapolis, 1955).

## John Dahle's Early Years in America

When the John Dahles arrived in Brooklyn, New York, there was a well established Norwegian-American colony there. According to Nordiske Blade, Norwegian immigrants began to settle in Brooklyn in the late 1840's and by the 1860's had established a Norwegian Lutheran Congregation there which was served by laymen until 1866 when Pastor O. Juul accepted a call to serve the congregation, which built the first Norwegian Lutheran Church in New York in 1872. In 1865 Pastor Preutz estimated the Norwegian colonists to number about 3,000. The largest number of emigrants came in the 1870's and were largely sailors looking for employment.[10] Gjerset points out that "the era of the supremacy of the sailing vessel was closing at the outbreak of the Civil War," and after the war American economic interests with their new industrial focus aided by a high protective tariff discontinued much of their ocean commerce. By this time a rather large settlement had made permanent residence in Brooklyn, many former seamen turning to other professions particularly engineering and construction, while others worked on steamships. Eastern settlements were able to maintain a closer relationship with Norway "partly because as a sea-faring people they (became) less firmly rooted in American soil than the farmer of the West, but also because of the active communication with Europe in leading seaports."[11]

---

[10] Martin Ulvestad, Nordmaendene i Amerika, deres Historie og Rekord, I (Minneapolis, 1907), pp. 187-188 gives the information from Nordiske Blade. This weekly newspaper was begun by Martin Nelsen of Brooklyn in 1872; the name was later changed to Den Norske Amerikaner and edited by Sigurd Folkestad, states Ulvestad, p. 438.

Another significant difference in the Eastern settlements was that they had not, as in the West, built congregations and churches in their settlements. Many of the Norwegians in Brooklyn had come under the influence of the revival Methodist movement; others attended services at the Norwegian Seamen's Mission, while a third group conducted services under lay supervision. Most of the difficulty seemed to have stemmed from the old feeling of class distinction in Norway as well as from the matter of rank in the maritime profession itself. Those who had been ticket brokers, shipowners, captains, or had otherwise represented the Norwegian maritime interests in Norway, had enjoyed higher status than the sailor, the ship's carpenters, or the stewards. In America this feeling persisted like a spectre so that the fashionable Norwegian on the East Side looked down on the "scum from Van Brunt Street" and these in turn despised their "puffed up" brethren on the East Side. In full sympathy with the maritime lower class were the artisans, small business men, and boarding house keepers who had emigrated from Norway's coast cities. These were the lower classes in Norway who had had to stand with their hats off for the official class, but who in this country "wanted to amount to something."

---

[11] Knut Gjerset, Norwegian Sailors in American Waters (Northfield, 1933), pp. 79-80; 218-219.

In spite of the joy felt by some of the Norwegians when Pastor O. Juul of the Norwegian Synod came to New York in 1866 to establish a permanent congregation, he found it difficult to enlist wholehearted support among the Norwegians there, and the church which was built on Manhattan's East Side and dedicated in 1872 found itself very much in debt. Pastor Juul also worked hard at the Seamen's Mission. The large population of sea-faring people, however, wanted their own church, and this was built in 1879. In the meantime, Pastor Juul received a call from Our Saviour's Congregation in Chicago, and after ten years of service in New York left in 1876 to accept this call.[12]

John Dahle's sojourn in Brooklyn was of short duration. After a little more than a year and a half, during which time he served as organist at the Norwegian Seamen's Mission, he left in 1879 for Chicago to become organist and choir director at Our Saviour's Norwegian Lutheran Church in Chicago, where Pastor O. Juul was pastor. Both Pastor Juul and John Dahle were from Østre Slidre, Valdres, in Norway, and this happy circumstance, no doubt, was a factor in John Dahle's decision to join the Norwegian settlement in this western metropolis.

Qualey states that by the 1870's, 6,825 Norwegians lived in Chicago and that an estimated 60,000 Scandinavians, of whom a large percentage was Norwegian, had settled there by 1886. The city rapidly developed into "a center for news, education, and the preservation of Norwegian culture in America."[13] Here Marcus Thrane had initiated a Norwegian theater movement, directed, and presented a number of Norwegian dramas including some of his own during the years 1866-1868. The Norwegian Dramatic Society, perhaps influenced by Thrane's efforts presented dramatic productions from 1868 to 1872.[14] Nordmaendenes Sangforening had been organized in 1870.[15] Skandinaven, a Norwegian newspaper, had been established by John Anderson in 1866 and helped the immigrant not only in Chicago but everywhere in the land to maintain cultural identity, while acquainting him with political and social life in America.[16]

---

[12] The account of the "Norwegians in Brooklyn" is by Sigurd Folkestad and published in Symra, Vol. 4, 1908.

Strand states that Our Saviour's Norwegian Evangelical Church of Chicago was organized at North Market Hall in Chicago in 1858. A church was dedicated the following year, and by 1860 the congregation was supporting a parochial school. A new church building, which was completed in 1873, cost $42,000 instead of the original bid of $24,000 because of the advance in cost of building material and labor. In 1876 Rev. O. Juul, formerly of New York City, was called to serve the congregation.[17] All of these efforts at organization were attempts to preserve cultural continuity of old world institutions and in so doing to prevent cultural loss and social disorganization both for the immigrants themselves and their children.

---

[13] Carlton C. Qualey, Norwegian Settlement in the United States (Northfield, 1938), pp. 38-39.

[14] Napier Wist and Henrietta C. Koren Naeseth, "Two Early Norwegian Dramatic Societies in Chicago," in Norwegian-American Studies and Records, X (Northfield, 1938), 44-75.

[15] Carl Hansen, "Det Norske forenings Liv i Amerika," in Johannes B. Wist, Norsk-amerikanernes festskrift, 1914 (Decorah, 1914), p. 270, and A. E. Strand, "The Nordmaendenes Sangforening," in Norwegians of Illinois (Chicago, 1905), pp. 203-206.

[16] O. E. Rølvaag, "John Anderson and Skandinaven," in Norsk Laesebog, II (Minneapolis, 1920), pp. 319-322.

When John Dahle became the organist and choir director at Our Saviour's Lutheran Church in Chicago, he began the career to which he would bring a lifetime of devoted service and which would eventually give "clear cut direction to the musical development of the Lutheran Church in America."[18] The lack of adequate materials suitable for church use soon became very apparent and the quality of the music which was available was all too often of light and banal character. Nor did he have a backlog of mixed choir music which had been used in the church in Norway since choir music was not considered very important there. In Norway the church music of real importance was that of the hymn and chorale books. The poetry and music of the hymns and chorales were inspirational and lifted men's thoughts from the mundane realities of every day life to a world of beauty and strength;

---

17 A. E. Strand, ed., A History of the Norwegians of Illinois (Chicago, 1905), p. 103.

18 J. C. K. Preus, History of the Choral Union (Minneapolis, 1960), p. 7.

and though there may have been varying levels of quality in these, none of them, whether of the subjective lyrical kind or of the more objective type were of the gushing sentimental type with light rhythmic character which he had heard in the gospel tune type so popular in America.

The camp and revival meetings associated with the American frontier were of a highly subjective nature, stressing the sinner's personal involvement in an emotionally oriented religious experience. The Gospel Songs, published by Bliss and Sankey in 1875, enjoyed a tremendous vogue and found their counterpart in similar collections which had their impact on congregational singing among the various Norwegian-American Lutheran Synods. Cartford in "Music for Youth in an Emerging Church" states: "From 1878 until 1914 a proliferation of books appeared containing songs designed to express Christian beliefs and aspirations in a less formal way than did the congregational hymnal."[19] These aandelige sange (spiritual songs) were four part homophonic settings characterized by quick tempos, hackneyed rhythm patterns, and sentimental harmonies, and were, with but few exceptions, edited by clergymen who had received their education and theological training in America. These songs had a wide popular appeal but met with strong censure from the

---

[19] Gerhard M. Cartford, "Music for Youth in an Emerging Church," in Norwegian-American Studies and Records, XXII (Northfield, 1965), 164. Cartford gives an excellent account of the impinging of American influences on hymns and congregational singing as well as the significance of the cultural contribution inherent in the Old World congregational hymn and chorale.

Norwegian Synod pastors who had been trained in the traditional orthodoxy of the Norwegian seminaries and of the Lutheran Seminaries in St. Louis and St. Paul.

John Dahle through church publications and newspaper articles expressed his attitude regarding church music and church singing in America in an effort to build musical taste and particication to higher levels. Trained as he was in the music of the traditional State Church of Norway, he cherished the rich treasury of congregational hymns and chorales which were an important part of its service--and felt impelled to work toward the goal of seeing them transplanted as a permanent force in the lives of coming generations of Lutheran Americans. He also deplored the quality of singing in the church. Having, through his work at Hamar and in Christiania, experienced Lindeman's influence in bringing congregations to realize the importance of singing the hymns and chorales with proper tempo and expression, he found the slow, dragging tempos American Lutheran congregations used, dispiriting, and he resolved to work toward improving this situation. Moreover, as a choir director he worked with singers who could not read music. Many had never attempted part singing with the consequence that it became his first obligation to help the singers learn their notes by rote through playing the parts on the organ.

Paul M. Glasoe speaks of the typical trials of his father who was a church choir leader in the 1870's:

> Music and note reading had not yet found their way into the public schools of pioneer settlements. The only hope of progress lay with the choir leader, and so singing schools were started. What wonders patience and perseverance can work! Father played the salmodikon[20] and by means of it he could grind out the melody--alto, tenor, or bass--to the different groups. And what a thrill it was when two parts could perform--and then all four! These singing schools were not for the towns alone; country school districts, some of them four or five miles from town also felt entitled to their singing schools. Of course the meetings often became social gatherings; older people came for the fun of listening and the opportunity of hearing the latest news.[21]

Sangbog for Kirkekor.--Dahle's concern for the lack of suitable church choir music inspired his first collection of anthems, which included arrangements of excellent compositions by great masters. In the introduction to Sangbog for Kirkekor ("Song Book for the Church Choir"), he expressed his views on the kind of choir music which should be used in the church. He deplored the fact that Lutheran church choirs were performing American songs of unchurchly character and average quality but singing few of the compositions of the great masters. He attributed the popularity of the American church music, in part, to the lack of a developed musical taste among the people, and, in part to the lack of a suitable collection of good song materials for use at church services. Through the publication Sangbog he hoped to meet the need for material and to promote higher standards in the use of choir music. He urged those who used the book to keep an open mind regarding some of the works whose appeal might not be of the immediate kind, and to sing them many times for they would discover that these compositions "(would) grow in favor upon closer acquaintance." The collection contained numbers for all the festival days of the church year, for the Sunday worship service, and for other church functions.

---

[20] Salmodikon - a hollow, narrow box with one string which was bowed, producing a full pleasant tone.

[21] Paul Maurice Glasoe, "A Singing Church," in Norwegian-American Studies and Records, XIII (Northfield, 1943), 98-99. (His father emigrated to America in 1873.)

Volume Two of *Sangbog* was published in 1890, bringing the total number of available selections in the collection to eighty-seven. Most of the selections in these two volumes were in four part homophonic style and were to be sung *a cappella* or with the organ doubling the voice parts. Among the compositions were J. S. Bach's *Lov og Aere og Visdom og Tak* ("Blessing, Glory, Wisdom, and Thanks"); Handel's *Aere vaere Gud* ("Glory Be to God"), and "Hallelujah Chorus" from the *Messiah*, as well as *Op, Zion's Datter* ("Rise Up, Daughter of Zion"), and *O Jesu, Gud's Son* ("O Jesus, Son of God"); A Norwegian setting of Mozart's *Ave Verum Corpus*; and Beethoven's *Prayer*; two selections by Ludvig Lindeman, one of which, the *Dies Irae*, according to the explanatory note in the index, he composed for this collection in March, 1883, at the request of John Dahle; some contemporary works by G. Wennerberg, Eric Hoff, and Franz Abt; and many selections by German composers of church songs, among them H. G. Nageli, J. A. P. Schultz, C. Kreuger, L. Reichardt, and others. All of the texts in *Sangbog* were in the Norwegian language, a number of them having been provided by Pastor O. Juul.

Pastor E. Jensen, a compiler and editor of song books for children as well as of others for use in the church, wrote as follows about Sangbog:

> There are some larger works which will require time and effort in order to be learned well; but when these have been learned so that they can be performed correctly and expressively, the sense of satisfaction will richly reward the effort. Most of the selections are not really difficult; many are even easy to learn. They should not, however, be used as ABC books for beginners. Beginning choirs should first practice thoroughly from a general song book as, for example, my Sangbog for Børn og Ungdom ("Song Book for Children and Youth"), if no better book is available; after that the chorales from Koralbog should be rehearsed and the easiest church choir songs introduced. These must be learned properly before they are sung for the congregation. The choir songs must not replace the hymn singing....
>
> Mr. John Dahle's Sangbog for Kirkekor is highly recommended not only for all Norwegian and Danish church choirs in America but also for other mixed choir groups and also for use in the home....(He adds that Sangbog costs 60¢ a copy.)[22]

Purposely designed to meet current needs Sangbog was widely accepted throughout the church. The collection, published in 1884, was the first such attempt to combine fundamental needs with an aesthetic approach. By 1905, 7,000 copies had been printed. Busy pastors and singing school teachers worked hard to teach note reading skills and to organize church choirs. Mrs. R. O. Brandt reminisces on some of the aspects of pioneer choir and singing activities in South Dakota in the 1880's:

---

[22] Kirketidende, X (Decorah, Dec. 28, 1883). (Erik Jensen, a seminarist and school teacher from Norway, emigrated to America, attended the Theological Seminary in St. Louis, and was ordained to the ministry in 1870. His collections of music for church choirs did not contain longer choral selections.)

> My husband was a very busy man. He was interested in music and conducted singing school with instruction in three-and-four part singing. He organized and instructed church choirs. He also organized and directed three bands in his parish, at Brandt, Wood Lake, and Deer Creek...The young people were improving in four-part singing. We used Jensen's Sangbog for Børn og Ungdom, learning many gems from that book...We also began to use John Dahle's Sangbog for Kirkekor and learned many beautiful anthems from those splendid collections....[23]

J. J. Skordalsvold quotes an article written by John Dahle which gives his opinion of the American songs which he had heard children sing at Lutheran Church Christmas Programs before the turn of the century:

> Lutheran Church denominations busy themselves year after year presenting programs of Christmas songs with gay words and lively tunes which are not only unchurchly but also valueless musically. From such light and trivial material is fashioned each year a new, cheerful, and gay Christmas program exclusively designed for the children.--They sing songs which are in diametric opposition to those which are sung at our divine services.... What should they be singing at Christmas programs? First and foremost the old Christmas hymns which congregations have sung since Reformation times: "O Jesus Christ All Praise to Thee," "To Us Is Born A Blessed Child," "In This Our Happy Christmas Tide." These should be sung by the whole congregation, or the Sunday School. Sing the following beautiful Christmas hymns with their traditional melodies: "A Babe Is Born in Bethlehem," "Silent Night, Holy Night," "Thy Little Ones, Dear Lord, Are We," "From Heaven Above to Earth I Come." These songs should be sung every Christmas and they will then become a child's dearest treasure. Each year they will evoke sweet memories. These songs carry the true

---

[23] Mrs. R. O. Brandt, "Social Aspects of Prairie Pioneering: The Reminiscences of a Pioneer Pastor's Wife," in Norwegian-American Studies and Records, VII (Northfield, 1933), 22-24.

> Christmas spirit on musical wings and will become a power in his life and a comfort and encouragement until his death....
>
> I would suggest that the whole congregation take a more active part in the program, by rising to recite the Creed and the Christmas Gospel, at least from the words, "And there were in the same country shepherds...," following which all should join in singing "O Jesus Christ, All Praise to Thee." As we sing the hymns from Reformation times, may our hearts and minds be filled with the spirit, the holy fire, and inspiration of the Reformation. Let us fill the church when the Christmas candles are lighted.[24]

Dahle's evaluation of the musical content and value of prevailing song materials was justifiable. Many of the compilers and editors were clergymen with little background in music theory. Their lack of musicianship was apparent not only in their choice of song materials but also in their treatment of it. Their use of a secularized style of music was inconsistent with the religious texts and the subjective emotionalism of these often spilled over into a romantic sentimentality. Dahle was dedicated to the principle of preserving the best from the heritage of the past, and he was especially concerned that the children be taught the chorales with their direct, powerful, and profound expression of religious feeling and be trained in music and song of aesthetic value.

---

[24] J. J. Skørdalsvold, "John Dahle," in Valdreser i Amerika, pp. 89-90. Skørdalsvold received his A.B. at Augsburg Seminary in 1881, his B.L. at the University of Minnesota in 1888, and studied at the University of Berlin in 1889-90. He was a newspaper reporter and correspondent, translator, editor, writer of poems, stories and magazine articles. He also conducted a Night School in Minneapolis (1902-1912), where Norwegian emigrants could learn English. See Norlie, History of the Norwegians in America (Minneapolis, 1925), p. 391.

*Sangbog for Mandssangforeninger*.--In 1885 John Dahle published *Sangbog for Mandssangforeninger indeholdende Faedrelands og Folkesange*, etc.("Songbook for Male Choruses, containing Songs of the Fatherland and Folk Songs," etc.). The compilation and editing of such a collection was a natural outcome of his interest in the male chorus movement which he had experienced in his youth in Norway. Among the seventy-seven numbers are four Norwegian and two Swedish folk melodies harmonized by Joh. D. Behrens and one Norwegian folk melody harmonized by L. M. Lindeman. Characteristic of the Norwegian folk song is the charming *Kari aa Mari stat opp nu* ("Kari and Mari, Come Quickly Now"), a Valdres folk song. It is in three sections: the first is a gay spring dance melody in *A* major, reflecting the rural people's happiness at the increase in their herds and livestock; the second, in *a* minor, pictures the driving of the cattle to the uplands; the third section is *Lento* and returns to *A* major, with the sounds of the ram's horn echoing through the mountain valley.

Seven of the compositions and two other arrangements are by F. A. Reissiger. A famous German Kapellmeister and composer, Reissiger came to Norway in 1840 as conductor of the Kristiania Theater Orchestra and later was organist and military bandmaster in Frederickshald. He wrote many songs for male chorus that sound typically Norwegian in character. His setting of Bjørnson's *Olaf Trygvason* powerfully portrays the saga of this warrior in a Norwegian musical idiom.

Kjerulf is also represented by seven selections. Typical of his romantic quality is the setting of Welhaven's *Tilfjelds under Granelien*, which portrays a beautiful mountain scene bathed in summer sunshine. The musical setting evokes colors elusively charming and the sustained sound of the open fifths in the bass creates the feeling of distance. Grieg's setting of the folk song *Brumbasken i Bumba*, with its drum pattern of open fifths as an accompaniment to the tenor duet, the stanza and the lively chorus with its stretto effects, is rhythmically delightful. Among the Danish composers there are two selections by Johan P. E. Hartmann and P. Heize, respectively,and one each by C. E. F. Weyse, Andreas Berggreen, and Niels Gade. P. Heise's setting of Bjørnson's *Dans! Raabte Felen* ("Dance, Cried the Fiddle"), is a vivacious dance melody in *F* major with the drum bass accentuating the measure. The other settings are typical of the romantic's love of nature and of country with now and then a song of yearning or longing included. Selections by Swedish song writers include five songs by Otto Lindblad, among them *Stridsbøn* ("Prayer in Time of War"), and a setting of a folk song from the collection of Knut Geijer, one of the first to collect Swedish folk songs. Gunnar Wennerberg's intensely patriotic *Hør os, Svea* ("Hear Us, Svea"), with its dramatic fervor, its marching rhythms, and chorale quotation from "A Mighty Fortress is Our God" and his *Stå Stark, du ljusets riddarvakt* ("Stand Fast Thou Guardian Band of Light"), another nationalistic song with fiery spirit and marching rhythm, are typical of the spirit of nationalism. The collection also includes a few selections by German composers such as Franz Abt, Franz Silcher, and Louis Spohr.

That *Sangbog for Mandssangforeninger* fulfilled the need for good repertoire among the Norwegian-American male choruses in America is apparent from the comments made by Rudolph Møller in *Sanger Hilsen*, VIII (August 1917):

> We can almost call Prof. John Dahle our Norwegian-American Johan D. Behrens...It has been said that Dahle gave us our sagas in music and there is no doubt that there is scarcely a home or singing society among us here which does not own one or more volumes of John Dahle's songbooks... His *Sangbog for Mandssangforeninger* has without a doubt laid the foundation for our Norwegian Male Chorus repertoire, and has been a blessing on which to rely as a resource book even in these later years.[25]

---

[25] Rudolph Møller, a director of Norwegian Male Choruses, was influential in musical activities on the Pacific Coast. He composed a number of songs for male choruses, one of his best-known being *Jeg Laengter mod Sol og Sommer* ("I Long Toward Sun and Summer").

## IV

## THE NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN MALE CHORUS MOVEMENT: JOHN DAHLE'S ROLE IN ITS DEVELOPMENT

### The United Scandinavian Singers of America

The male chorus, as a popular expression of musical art, developed early in the pioneer communities. "The first male chorus established by the Norwegians in America was organized at Granddad Bluff, LaCrosse, Wisconsin, June 1, 1869, by G. R. Jackwitz. It was called the Normanna Choir...Emil Berg was the first director."[1] The next year Nordmaendenes Sangforening of Chicago was organized under the direction of John S. Lindtner, a recently arrived emigrant much devoted to Norwegian nationalism and singing.[2] During the next three decades Norwegian settlements from coast to coast had male choruses usually organized by men who had experienced singing in a male chorus in Norway.

The first musical organization of any significance, "The United Scandinavian Singers of America," was organized in 1886. C. M. Machold of Philadelphia, a Dane, initiated the project and eight men's choruses attended the organizational meeting of which two were Norwegian Singing Societies,--Nordmaendenes Singing Society of Chicago and the Norwegian Singing Society of New York. The other six were either Danish, Swedish, or a combination of Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes. Eight choruses participated in the first Scandinavian singing festival held in Philadelphia in 1887, with Thorvald Lammers as guest soloist. When the second festival was held in Chicago in 1889, twenty-six societies representing 600 singers attended. Of these only six were Norwegian, but there were also six Scandinavian societies which included many Norwegians. Four Danish and ten Swedish societies made up the total.[3]

---

[1] O. M. Norlie, History of the Norwegian People in America (Minneapolis, 1925), p. 460.

[2] See Maurice B. Hansen and Norman Blessum, Brief History of Nordmaendenes Sangforening, Chicago, Illinois, 1870-1945 (Chicago, 1945).

Luth Jaeger in The North, July 22, 1891, gives a detailed account of the Minneapolis festival's three concerts held at the Coliseum Hall on State University grounds. (This building, first opened with a music festival at which Jenny Lind was soloist, was later destroyed by fire.) Some items giving an idea of the growth of the organization and highlights of the festival follow:

> Four coaches full of festival guests, besides the Luren Society, constituted the contingent from Decorah, Iowa.
>
> The Bjarne, of Grand Forks, traveled like Red River Valley Kings in a special Pullman chartered for the entire trip...As a special emblem of the

---

[3] J. S. Johnson, Minnesota. En Kortfattet Historie av Nordmaendenes Bebyggelse av Staten, Deres Gjøremaal, Foreninger og Livsvilkaar (St. Paul,1914), p. 122.

excursion, Chief Marshal O. Hexom had plucked a sheaf of green wheat all headed out, four and a half feet tall, and this was fastened to the rear of the car, to let all the world know that the Red River Valley promises 40,000,000 bushels of No. 1 hard cereal this bountiful year...

The Nordmaendenes Sangforening of San Francisco, coming by way of Portland and Tacoma, covered a distance of 2,700 miles. Everyone of this great group is a working man, about half of them being painters. When we learned that the return tickets cost each of them $93.00 we began to realize what a powerful influence music has on our pilgrims from the Golden Gate.

Mr. Ringwall and his orchestra did some excellent work during the festival. We will particularly mention Johan Svendsen's "Norwegian Rhapsody" and Grieg's "Peer Gynt Suite," the latter in particular being played as we think it never has been before here, even by Theodore Thomas' Orchestra.

"Landkjending," "Olaf Trygvason" (Nordraak), and "Roskilde" (H. Mattheson-Hansen 1807-80), were sung with great force and enthusiasm by the United Scandinavian Singers, and the great Coliseum hall has probably never been so well stirred up by musical sounds.

Hundreds of people claimed that they had never heard such fine cornet music as that of the Luther College Silver Cornet Band. Only two of its members have passed the teens.

The receipts from the three concerts were $5634.30, and the expenses were $1100 for orchestra and bands, $1200 for printing, entertainment at Normanna Hall, $1500, Coliseum, $300, train to Minnetonka for picnic, $400. As the soloists' compensations etc. etc. were not included, it was decided in order to come out about even, to charge one dollar admission fee to the Masonic Temple banquet.

English is the language used nearly all the time by the singers whether they speak it well, badly, or indifferently. The deliberations of the business meetings, however, are an exception to this rule. But it was interesting to note that the speakers very often commenced to talk in English and did not wheel around into the Danish, Norwegian, or Swedish until the chairman informed them that it is against the laws of the society to use any other language than the Scandinavian ones at the business meetings.

Fifteen of the forty-eight societies present competed for the Robert Lindblom Trophy and the Minneapolis Drinking Horn as second prize. The Robert Lindblom Trophy was won by the Swedish Glee Club of Chicago. Nordmaendenes of Minneapolis received third prize.

The silver mounted drinking horn was the gift of M. A. Paulson (President Century Piano Co.), the merchant prince S. Olson, banker H. C. Haugan, K. Kortgaard and others. It is about 18 inches long and rests on two small supports and the figure of a gnome, the "Nisse" of Denmark and Norway, and "Tomptegubbe" of Sweden, an oldish little bit of a man figuring very extensively in Scandinavian folk lore, who stands stooping with his back against the outside curve of the horn. A rough rope is wound around the horn several times and the ends are thrown around the arms of the gnome. The face of the latter is a study all by itself. With a mixture of archness and hilarity animating the massive face he seems to say: "I have just had a nip of this 'ere, and you bet it's genuine stuff." The cover moves on hinges and is surmounted by a magnificent representation of Brage, the Northern God of Song, striking his harp. The design is by Jacob Fjelde, of Minneapolis, and the horn is to remain with the society winning it....

Before going to the cafe chantant, Sunday night at Normanna Hall (Corner 3rd St. and 12th Ave., So.), Mrs. Ole Bull, Mrs. Kathinka Paulsen-White (soprano), and Miss Aagot Lunde (contralto), attended an informal reception at Secretary of State, Colonel Hans Mattson's house.

The banquet at Masonic Temple wound up the festival in the same happy and enjoyable manner which has characterized every feature of this memorable event. At tables extending the entire length of the immense hall, lighted by

> 350 incandescent lamps attached to the arches spanning the ceiling, were seated about 950 people in festival attire....[4]

Shortly after the 1891 festival, Lindblom wrote some articles for American newspapers about the relationship existing between Norway and Sweden. Most of the Norwegian members of the Association thought these articles disparaging to Norway and for this reason decided they would rather not participate in contests for a banner which Lindblom had donated. At the delegates' meeting in New York in 1892, a Norwegian delegate suggested that the Swedish Glee Club of New York keep the trophy, upon which all of the Swedish delegates left the convention.[5] The Swedish singers withdrew from the United Scandinavian Singers of America and organized the American Union of Swedish Singers. The last festival to be held under the auspices of the United Scandinavian Singers of America took place during the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893, but only the Norwegian and Danish societies attended. Yet there were no less than twenty-five societies represented with 650 singers, of which the preponderant number were Norwegian.[6]

---

[4] This account, edited by Th. Hamann and reprinted in Sanger-Hilsen, X (Oct. 1942), mentions that "The North was excellently edited but lasted only four or five years when Luth Jaeger and his financial backers reluctantly gave up for lack of support."

[5] Carl Hansen, "Det Norske Foreningsliv i Amerika," in Johs. B. Wist, Norsk Amerikanernes Festskrift 1914 (Decorah, Iowa, 1914), pp. 277-278.

[6] J. S. Johnson, Minnesota, En Kortfattet Historie..., p. 122.

## The Northwestern Scandinavian Singers' Association

After the Minneapolis festival in 1891, there were many Scandinavians in the Northwest who looked forward to perpetuating the interest in the Scandinavian-American male chorus movement. And though the mother organization was terminated, another organization, the Northwestern Scandinavian Singers' Association, developed as an offshoot of the older association. The earliest articles regarding this organization and its growth are those written by John Dahle and published in Nordvesten in 1902.

In an article published in Nordvesten, May 7, 1902, Dahle was sharply critical of the organizational principles upon which both the national organization and the Northwestern Association were built. He felt that the resolution passed in one of the first business meetings of the national association and later maintained by the Northwestern Association stating that singing teachers and music directors be excluded from being chosen as delegates to the Association's conventions or as members of the board of directors was unreasonable. It seemed logical to him that musicians should have a voice in the administration of a musical organization and that such an organization should not be completely dominated by business interests. However, he acknowledged that "everyone who sees in song and music an uplifting medium, an instructive and elevating element,--indeed a cultural power is happy that the thrifty, poised business man will use his influence and spend time and money in promoting such a cause even though one could often wish that the purely musical could be emphasized more and the purely business-like kept a little more in the background."

Dahle very much deplored the idea of competition at singing festivals and felt that more emphasis should be placed on co-operative effort in making combined chorus numbers effective musically. He favored the idea of the smaller association such as the Northwestern Association because it was more flexible and less unwieldy. His criticism of the musical groups and the choice of materials was an honest appraisal and calculated to stimulate greater effort in attaining worthy musical goals. He was irked by critics who spoke only in glowing terms as he felt that constructive criticism should encompass both strengths and weaknesses if self improvement were to be attained. His impressions of the Minneapolis Singing Festival of 1891, some thoughts on the United Scandinavian Singers of America, and the Northwestern Scandinavian Singers' Association of America are quoted here as they provide insight into his thinking both from a personal point of view and from a musical one:

> The large national association, as is known, has held only one meeting west of Chicago, the singing festival held in Minneapolis in 1891. The festival was not successful in all respects. In spite of the fact that many business men provided leadership, in spite of the fact that the population of the entire Northwest, so to speak, flocked to the singers' banners,--streamed in by the thousands, filled the huge Coliseum at all of its concerts, in spite of the fact that Lake Minnetonka's green beaches swarmed with the throng of visitors attending the Singers' Association picnic--in spite of everything--there was a

deficit of many hundred of dollars. Musically, the festival was successful in part because of the outstanding assistance of some able soloists, especially August Hyllestad (Danish pianist of Chicago) and John Ortengren (Danish vocal soloist and director-in-chief) of Chicago. There was also an opportunity to hear two or three outstanding men's choruses at this festival,--the Swedish Glee Club of Chicago, the Swedish Glee Club of New York and the Nordmaendenes Singing Society of Minneapolis, at this time under the direction of Carlo Sperati. Otherwise the chorus numbers were so-so.

The combined choruses which should indeed have been the high point of this concert were by no means outstanding, partly because they were less well conducted but mainly because many of the singers had not learned their parts. The reason was that there was a competition number for a prize. To win this prize all effort had been put into practicing the solo chorus number while the joint chorus numbers were neglected. This prize banner contributed to the lack of preparation of combined chorus songs and ultimately to the break up of the association. It was a business man who donated the banner. We do not know whether business men encouraged its acceptance, but it is highly probable. "Long live competition!" is indeed a part of the language of business. One thing is certain, however, that words of caution about accepting this banner came from the musicians' camp because of the rivalry that would be engendered at the song festivals...At least it is a satisfaction to know that this prize went to the organization which really deserved it. Such is not always the case.

But Lindblom's banner did give rise to a conflict which split up the large association, and we are not sorry about that; no harm has been done. The machinery was altogether too unwieldy and impractical. The smaller singing association can accomplish ten times more than such a colossus. Nevertheless this broadly built Scandinavian Dame Music, U. S. of America, did accomplish one thing; she gave birth to a daughter. And this daughter was named the Northwestern Scandinavian Singers' Association. This daughter has shown that she possesses the power of survival...She is very much like her mother (The apples fall not far from the tree). She is inclined to be a little materialistic. For she is indeed essentially educated in business principles. She has had business people as "grandfathers"; but there is a good "woman" in her as the Valdres folk would say. The Northwestern Singers' Association's greatest defect is, in short, that it has taken the old organization as a pattern. This has hampered its work and its growth. That the competition song has been eliminated in the past few years is indeed a good thing...The Northwestern Singers' Association has done much to advance the cause of Scandinavian song among us and its activity is worthy of all honor.

Regarding its origin we have taken the liberty to quote one of the association's founders, Mr. G. Bie Ravndal of Sioux Falls, South Dakota, in an article he wrote for Hamann's Sanger Hilsen.

"The suggestion for organizing the Northwestern Singers' Association came from the 'Minnehaha Men's Chorus' of Sioux Falls. The Society had returned from the Singers' Association festival in Minneapolis, distressed because the taste for Scandinavian music yet lay dormant in so many of the Northwest's large Scandinavian communities. These, essentially, Scandinavian districts in the west, where the Northmen's descendants had wielded the pioneers' axes and had even taken the lead both in building churches and business enterprises, had scarcely given a sign of life when an invitation had been extended to singers to attend a meeting for the purpose of organizing a singing society. Because of the lack of individual resources the Northwestern Scandinavian Singers' Association was suggested as a means of improving this situation."

At the time that the suggestion was proposed there was no thought that this association should be in competition with the larger national association, the Scandinavian Singers of America. The thinking was that this new organization should work only in areas where the national association did not yet extend...The men who should have the honor of promoting the association are G. Bie Ravndal, editor of the South Dakota Ekko (now U.S. Consul to Syria) and Dr. J.S. Johnson, Sioux Falls, South Dakota, (now of St. Paul). After searching discussion regarding the matter these two men communicated with the various singing societies in Minnesota, Iowa, North and South Dakota and Nebraska, with the request that they send delegates to a convention to be held at Sioux Falls, September 24, 1891. The two men spared neither time, energy, nor expenditure to realize the plan and Mr. Ravndal took trips to Minneapolis, Omaha, Sioux City, and other places in behalf of the matter. Their efforts were crowned with success. About a hundred singers and delegates were present at the convention in Sioux Falls. They gave a concert, worked out a draft for a constitution and by laws and decided to have a singing festival at Sioux Falls in 1892. Elected as the association's first officers were: G. Bie Ravndal, president; L. Christiansen, first vice-president; A. J. Anderson, second vice-president; Jos. Estrem, secretary; J. C. Smedsrud, treasurer; Dr. J. S. Johnson, who not only is an ardent music lover but also an able amateur, was chosen music director. The first song festival was a decided success. The prominent soloists, whom the association had been fortunate to secure, certainly contributed to this success. They were Madame Anna Smith Behrens of Minneapolis, John Ortengren of Chicago, Miss Anna Strøm (pianist), J. L. Hjort, and Prof. Hines. Nine singing societies took part. A "traveling-prize banner" presented to the Association by the women of Sioux Falls, was offered as a prize to the most outstanding singing society. It was awarded to Norden of Omaha.

At the convention held at the same time, as the choral festival, it was decided that the next meeting would be held at Sioux City, Iowa. S. W. Holmes of that city was elected the association's president and E. Torvik, the secretary. B. H. Lien of Sioux Falls was chosen treasurer and Ernest Nordin of Omaha, music director. The singing festival in Sioux City was held in 1894. The singing group had grown considerably because a number of new societies had joined the association and the chorus singing went well because adequate preparation was demanded. For this festival the association was also fortunate in securing able soloists. Miss Sigrid Wolff, who was currently appearing in various cities throughout the country and literally taking the audience by storm wherever she sang was, as a matter of course, the star on this occasion. John Ortengren was also a soloist and the well-known flutist, Viggo Anderson, gave brilliant proof of his artistry. The Minnehaha Men's Chorus of Sioux Falls won the prize banner this time, thus after a two years' absence bringing the banner "home again" to its own city. The convention accepted Omaha's invitation for the singing festival in 1896. C. J. Johnson of Omaha was elected the Association's president: Th. Hamann, secretary; O.M. Oleson, treasurer and Ernest Nordin was re-elected music director. In Omaha the concerts were held in the Coliseum, which was made available to the Association, free of charge, by the city authorities. The singers were quartered in tents which were set up "between the fountain and the rose bushes in Haskom Park."

The singing festival in Omaha was carefully arranged by a capable festival committee, and the city's Danish population lived up to its reputation for genial sociability and hospitality. A downpour of rain exerted itself to the utmost to interfere with the activities and to dampen the singers' good humor but was unsuccessful, thanks to the hosts and especially to their wives' courteous geniality and ability to make the guests comfortable. The Chicago vocalist, Ragna Linne, and the flutist, Anton Pederson, had been engaged for this festival. The Minnehaha Men's Chorus of Sioux Falls won the competition event. This time the convention decided that this organization keep the banner permanently. The prize banner had already provoked dissension and dissatisfaction within the organization and the idea of the competition song was given up by the various groups. The convention accepted West Superior and Duluth's invitation for 1898. C.J. Halling of Duluth was elected president and

Erik Oulie of Minneapolis, music director. O. M. Oleson, Fort Dodge, Iowa, was re-elected treasurer, and Th. Hamann, secretary.

This festival, which began in West Superior, whose hospitable Scandinavian population had made absolutely magnificent arrangements for the singers' reception, was favored with the most enjoyable weather. The first concert was held in the city's opera house, which was filled to capacity; and the many numbers on the program were enthusiastically received. The little society, Luren, from Decorah, Iowa, was a great success, largely because of the beautifully performed solo parts by its first tenor, Sigurd Halversen, now deceased. Among the other organizations deserving special mention were Nordmaendenes of Minneapolis, Bjarne of Grand Forks, and Minnehaha of Sioux Falls. The latter had many good voices and performed beautifully and appealingly. In spite of E. Oulie's able direction, the combined choruses were less successful, particularly at the concert the second evening in Duluth. It was evident that many of the singers simply did not know their parts. This indifference to the combined chorus numbers is regrettable. The combined choruses should be the most inspiring feature of the festival. If these are poor, then the singing festival as such is unsuccessful even though the best orchestra and soloists have been secured. It made a poor impression to see many of the singers standing and visiting away in the corners of the hall while the one joint rehearsal was in progress. The soloists were by no means up to the standard to which one had become accustomed at earlier festivals. Miss Sofie Skjerdingstad, Sofus De Wold, and N. Flaaten were very capable, to be sure, and their performances showed great future potential; but they could scarcely be called mature artists such as one hopes to hear at these large festivals. However, they were well received and applauded. The small orchestra under the direction of J. Flaaten received much and well-deserved recognition. The Duluth Convention chose St. Paul for its next festival, the summer of 1900. C.A. Hamann of Minneapolis, Carl Hansen of Minneapolis and John Dahle of St. Paul were elected president, treasurer, secretary, recording secretary, and music director, respectively.[7]

---

[7] John Dahle, "Northwestern Scandinavian Singers' Association,"

*Fram: A Collection for Male Chorus*.--In the fall of 1898 John Dahle published another collection of Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish music for male chorus which was welcomed with pleasure by the various Scandinavian men's singing societies. Among the seventy-five selections in the song book *Fram* were many by Norway's contemporary composers as well as some of the older and favorite songs quite indispensable in a collection of this kind such as Reissiger's *Olaf Trygvason* and *En Sangers Bøn* ("A Singer's Prayer"), Nordraak's *Olaf Trygvason* and *Ja Vi Elsker dette Landet* ("Yes, We Love With Fond Devotion"), Grieg's *Landkjending* ("Land Sighting") and *Sangerhilsen* (Singer's Greeting"), Kjerulf's *Brudefaerden* ("Wedding Procession"), and others which were standard repertoire in Norway but had never been published in this country. The contemporary composers included Oscar Borg's inspiring *Aftenrøster* ("Voices of Evening"), and Flagsang; Wendelborg's *Norge! Norge!* and *Syttende Mai Sang*; O.A. Grøndahl's *Aftenro* ("Peaceful Night"), as well one or more songs by Ole Olsen, C. Arnold, Johan Selmer, Olaf Paulus, and H.A. Moe. Among the Danish composers there were four selections by Kuhlau, two by Rung, and one each by Weyse, C.C. Hansen, P. Rasmussen, and Glaeser. Swedish songs included the charming *Lilla Stina*, a polska dance tune in $\frac{3}{4}$ time, a setting by C.P. Wahlin; the lyrical *Fagelns visa* ("A Bird's Song"), set

---

in *Nordvesten*, May 7 and May 15, 1902. These articles are among a series called *Musicians and Musical Life Among the Norwegians in America*, written by Dahle from April 1902, to April 1903.

for tenor solo with chorus humming accompaniment, by Söderberg; and Naturen och hjertet ("Nature and the Heart"), O.A. Lindblad's setting of a Geiger poem. John Dahle contributed two original songs,--the first, a patriotic song with English words by M.O. Teigen, Old Glory; the second, a marching song set to Bjørnson's poem Fremad ("Onward"). He also made a four part male chorus arrangement of a Franz Abt melody, which, set to a poem by Jørgen Moe, was called Serenade. Two poems written by John Dahle, Vaarsang ("Spring Song"), and Vaarglaede ("The Joy of Spring"), were given musical settings by E. Becker and C. Kuntze, respectively. Naar Fjordene Blaaner ("When the fjords deepen with blue") by Alfred Paulsen, a Norwegian-American composer, was published here for the first time. Lyrics by Welhaven, A. Munch, Bjørnson, Jonas Lie, Jørgen Moe reflected the spirit and impulse toward brotherhood, the love of nature, religious-romantic sentiment, and the longing for the strange and distant combined with an intense love of native land so characteristic of the romantic thought of the mid nineteenth century. Several folk melodies were included,--Halling and roundel melodies arranged by Grieg, Reissiger, and others.

Male Chorus Festival in St. Paul, Minnesota (1900).--Having been selected as director-in-chief for the Singers' Association at the Duluth Convention in 1898, John Dahle had the responsibility of planning a program which included combined chorus numbers suitable to the interests and abilities of the various groups belonging to the Association. The festival would not be held until the summer of 1900, but already in December of 1898 he wrote an open letter to the Northwestern Singers' Association asking for suggestions for program numbers and stating his views regarding such choices and the necessity for learning these program numbers thoroughly. The letter, published in *Minneapolis Tidende*, December 9, 1898, reads as follows:

> To the Northwestern Singers' Association
>
> The Singers' Association instructors or music committees are requested to send suggestions for combined chorus numbers for the next singing festival to the undersigned as soon as possible. The chief element in making a singing festival successful, musically speaking, is that the combined chorus numbers are well rehearsed and are performed with spirit, power, and enthusiasm. In order to make this possible, song sheets must be in the hands of the singers early enough so that they can memorize the songs. It is necessary to begin this task immediately in order to get a good selection of songs ready during the next four weeks and to get the song sheets prepared and available by next spring. A year's practice is needed to learn these songs. It is recommended that if possible these combined chorus numbers which are to be selected should be presented by the association's individual singing societies in their respective communities during the course of the year so that the numbers become properly digested or get into the singer's blood, so to speak. Let me repeat: The combined choruses are and should be the main numbers at our choral festivals. With poor combined chorus work the singing festival will be unsuccessful regardless of the able soloists who may perform. Furthermore, the combined chorus numbers should be by recognized Scandinavian Composers, so that they may become an influence in the lives of the people. Therefore we should choose the best, the most characteristic Scandinavian vocal music for our large singing festivals. It would serve our goal to use English words for these compositions, if there were good, well-adapted translations. But so long as we do not have such, we shall continue to sing Norwegian, Swedish, Danish. In the

> meantime it would be both appropriate and fitting to use some good English, or more correctly, some good American combined chorus numbers other than the national songs, America and Star Spangled Banner. These two songs should not be presented as program numbers. They should be used to begin and close the program of each concert. Most of the combined chorus numbers used up to the present time have been of the easier type. May I also recommend that in addition to these easier songs we try to present one or another of the more contemporary Scandinavian compositions for solo, choir, and orchestra.
>
> Please be so kind as to send in your suggestions regarding combined chorus numbers for our next choral festival to the undersigned.
>
> Obligingly yours,
>
> John Dahle
>
> St. Paul, Minn.

John Dahle's resume of the St. Paul Singing Festival held in 1900 was recorded in his article on the "Northwestern Scandinavian Singers' Association," in Nordvesten, May 15, 1902. His penetrating analyses and criticisms of the next two biennial festivals in 1902 and 1904 follow:

> People's Church in St. Paul was rented for the first concert and the Auditorium for the second. Twenty singing societies came to this festival; the combined chorus numbered about 300 singers. This time special effort was made to improve the combined chorus performance, and this may well be said that some of the combined chorus numbers such as Grieg's Landkjending were performed with power and precision.
>
> Grieg's magnificent Sigurd Jorsalfer with solo, chorus, and orchestra received its premiere performance in the Northwest at this concert. We

> cannot understand why this music is not more frequently performed. Some of the combined chorus numbers were less effective. Perhaps the director was at fault. Otherwise, there were many singers on this occasion too who had not taken the trouble to learn the combined chorus numbers. Danz's capable orchestra contributed much to give the concerts artistic worth. There were certainly no celebrities among the soloists, but they were all well trained, mature artists. Mrs. Johanna Lohrbauer, soprano, Gaston Borch, violin-cellist, Carl A. Erickson, tenor, Olaf Hals, violinist, and Schefstad, violinist, performed with superior skill and won well deserved applause. Among the singing societies that distinguished themselves were *Varden* of St. Paul, under Erik Oulie's direction and *Fram* of St. Paul, (John Dahle, director), which certainly had chosen the most difficult selection, *Per Spillemand* by Sigurd Lie.
>
> At the convention of the delegates Sioux Falls invitation for the next singing festival for 1902 was accepted. W. Hildahl of Sioux Falls was elected president and J. Flaaten of Duluth, music director; O.M. Oleson and Th. Hamann were re-elected as treasurer and secretary respectively. The Association's sixth festival is at hand. There is every reason to believe that this festival will be as successful as its predecessors, provided the Association's societies apply themselves diligently to the learning of the combined chorus numbers and have as their chief objective the worthy interpretation of Scandinavian song.

*Male Chorus Festival in Sioux Falls, South Dakota (1902)*.--
Before the *Sangerfest* at Sioux Falls Dahle writes in *Nordvesten*, July 12, 1902, as follows:

> Most of the songs are old favorites. Some of the songs such as *Hør oss*, *Svea* and *Saa Stærk* have been used so often that it might have been preferable to have replaced them with something different and newer. But people like to hear these songs and they are easy to practice since many of the older singers already know them. *Held dig, mit Norge* is an extremely trite and dull

> composition which has been on the festival programs far too long. Wendelborg's Ulabrand is a new, ear-catching, but rather trivial composition. For this reason it may very well be appealing to the general public. The closing strophe which evidently was intended for effect is poorly written. Wendelborg has written better choral works than Ulabrand. However,--it is easy to criticize but difficult to please everyone. The Danish composition Volmerslaget by Heise is somewhat long but not difficult. It is this kind of song which should predominate at our singing festivals...There are comparatively few opportunities to perform or to hear compositions for large chorus with orchestra. We should use all we have of this type of music. The list is not long. Why not use Grieg's Sigurd Jorsalfer, which is so easy that its two choruses can be learned in a few evenings? It would be something quite different to offer from Held dig mit Norge. Joh. Haarklou's Varde would have a powerful effect performed with a large chorus. Selmer's Norge, Norge should also be considered as a combined chorus number. That Grieg's Landkjending is again listed on the program is well. On the whole the choice of songs is not bad. Would that the singing societies would now seriously get to work and learn these songs well!

There is a resume of the Sioux Falls Music Festival in Nordvesten, July 17, 1902. The article gives an insight into the activities and performances of the Association's singing groups at their sixth biennial meeting and a list of the organizations represented:

> The day was radiant and warm as the "white caps" of the various groups, with their waving banners and sound of trumpets swung along through the streets of Sioux Falls to the large festival building. The beautiful city was in festival dress; flags waved from the buildings and the entrances to the festival building were decorated with the national colors and with green wreaths. The city's large auditorium, our headquarters, was especially lavish

and elegant with American, Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish flags, with flowers and palms. The Singers' banners placed on the stage provided a most charming background. The streets everywhere were swarming with people, riding and walking, and the crowds so large in some places that one actually had to elbow his way through. It was not, however, simply because of the singing festival that so many people had come to town. Ringling Brothers Circus had set up its tents and was to give three performances in the course of the day; people were now waiting for the large parade....

Shortly after dinner the singers met in the auditorium, where the former mayor, B. H. Lien welcomed the singers on behalf of the local society and the city and extended Mayor Burnside's apologies for not being present because of other urgent business demands. Mr. W. Hildahl, the Association's president, then announced the program of events...The Minnehaha Men's Chorus of Sioux Falls sang Grieg's Sanger-Hilsen ("Singers' Greeting"), with spirit and power and was applauded long and insistently. They then sang, Dans! raabte Felen ("Dance, Cried the Fiddle"), after which the assembled singers walked across the street to the city's opera house where the rehearsal was to be held. About 200 singers nearly filled the large platform, which like an enormous stairway rose from the stage floor far up against the back wall of the theater. The rehearsal went well, beyond all expectations, and it was evident that the Association's singers had practiced the combined chorus numbers more diligently than heretofore.

In the evening a capacity audience filled the opera house to hear the first concert. The members of the Norwegian-Danish press in attendance had loge seats. The program opened with "America" sung by the combined choruses, after which Flaaten's orchestra from Duluth played a potpourri of Norwegian melodies. The ensemble work was remarkable and the performance finely shaded. As an encore, the orchestra played Aase's Death by Grieg. Mr. Wendelborg's Ulabrand sung by the combined chorus sounded especially good, although at times the singers were a bit "at odds" about the tempo. The bass soloist, Gustaf Holmquist, possesses a voice of wide range, not too powerful, but beautiful and sympathetic in quality...He sings his highest and lowest notes with equal ease; there is an exceptional evenness in the voice's register...Mme. Ragna Linne's solo, an aria by Mascagni, was a capable and artistic presentation. A brilliant tone was combined with great warmth and expression and stirred the audience to highest appreciation. As an encore she sang the first stanza of *Saeterjenten's Søndag* (The Chalet Girl's Sunday). For her second appearance on the program she sang *Maikveld* (May Night) by Agathe Backer Grøndahl and *Vi vil os et Land*. While the aria was "over the heads" of the general public, the shorter, more popular songs evoked the greatest appreciation.

Among the combined chorus numbers *Hør oss, Svea* (Hear Us, Svea), was the high point of the evening's performance. It was sung with a precision, vigor, and warmth which was absolutely inspiring. This was also true, for the most part, of *Landkjending*, although it lacked the precision in tempo and performance of the first number. The other two combined chorus numbers were sung at too rapid a tempo. *Saa Stårk* (So Steadfast) and *Der er et Land* (There Is a Country) are old well-known compositions and should be sung in the traditional manner...After the concert there was a supper for the singers... The Chicago Singers and *Nordmaendenes* Singing Society of St. Paul gave a program of songs which were very much appreciated. The next morning there was a large singers' parade in which twenty singing societies participated... A tremendously large group of people lined the streets to see the parade. In the afternoon there was rehearsal and in the evening the second concert was given before a full house.

Musically the second concert was not on a par with the first. Because of the oppressive heat, many singers did not perform with the massed chorus and as a result the numbers did not have the same power and fullness as on the preceding evening. The performance went as well as could be expected under the circumstances, largely because of the director's energetic and sure leadership. *Volmerslaget* will be an interesting number, when the singers have learned it. The composition has many beautiful parts which were not up to par this time, since in some places only half of the choir sang properly and the uncertainty of the singers made the orchestra sound too loud. *Held dig, mit Norge* (May You Prosper, My Norway) by Arnold was perhaps the most successful combined chorus number on this program. The director, Mr. Jens Flaaten of Duluth, did a very creditable job in his difficult assignment as conductor. The orchestra's Swedish *Potpourri* was very successful and the soloists were received as enthusiastically as on the preceding evening...One could not help noticing that many of the singing societies interpreted their numbers in a very spontaneous fashion and tried to achieve an effect by ignoring the composer's tempo and expression marks and by giving the composition an original stamp, partly by singing some stanzas very fast, partly by going to the other extreme, and the like. Groups should be admonished against such striving for effect as altering the tempo at will and using other artificial means of expression. Such does not belong to good artistic singing....

Here is a list of the participating choruses as well as their numerical strength:

| Participating Choruses | City | Directors | Numerical Strength |
|---|---|---|---|
| Viking | Minneapolis | Erik Oulie | 12 |
| *Nordmaendenes* | Minneapolis | Erik Oulie | 12 |
| Apollo | Minneapolis | H. Askeland | 12 |
| *Kjerulf* | Minneapolis | F. M. Christiansen | 7 |
| *Nordmaendenes* | St. Paul | Erik Oulie | 12 |
| *Fram* | St. Paul | John Dahle | 18 |
| Minnehaha Men's Chorus | Sioux Falls, S. Dak. | A.R. Indseth | - |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Normanna* | Duluth | J. Flaaten | 12 |
| *Grieg* | Canton, S. Dak. | A.R. Indseth | 18 |
| *Unge Svea* | New Hope, S. Dak. | - | 22 |
| *Grieg* | Fort Dodge, Iowa | O.M. Oleson | 21 |
| *Leif* | Leeds, N. Dak. | - | 6 |
| *Bjarne* | Grand Forks, N. Dak. | J. Schefstad | 12 |
| *Nordraak* | Madison, S. Dak. | - | |
| *Normanna* | La Crosse, Wis. | J. Luckseth | 14 |
| *Luren* | Decorah, Iowa | E.M. Sunnes | 10 |
| *Behrens* | Inwood, Iowa | A.R. Indseth | 18 |
| *Gauken* | Nasseth, Iowa | - | - |
| The Norwegian Singers' Association | Chicago | | 17 |
| *Nordmaendenes* Singing Society | Minneapolis | Emil Bjørn | 7 |
| *Bjorgvin* | Minneapolis | Emil Bjørn | 7 |
| *Den Norske* Glee Club | Minneapolis | Emil Bjørn | 2 |

Irked by various articles written about the Sioux Falls festival by people who lacked competency to judge musical performance, Dahle commented as follows in *Nordvesten*, July 24, 1902:

> We shall not enter into a discussion as to what extent the singing festival in Sioux Falls was superior to all the earlier festivals which have been held. In some respects, these have, perhaps, been just as successful. It would certainly be of interest to hear competent musicians make such comparisons. Some newspaper critics who like to revel in superlatives but who obviously lack the necessary qualifications to bring competent judgment in such matters would show more discretion

> and sense by keeping their extravagant opinions to themselves. It could well be that musicians would agree that the musical programs have been just as good at earlier festivals. This comment is made without in any way wishing to cast any reflections upon the last festival. Everyone, it is true, has the right to his own opinion. Without wishing to deny anyone this right, we nevertheless add that such judgments are best left to those who understand musical matters. When one reads the various strange opinions as to which society sang best at the last festival, one rejoices that the practice of having a prize-winning competition song has been discontinued.
>
> There is a man in South Dakota who more than any other person should have had a commendatory word for his work at the last festival. This is the indefatigable, and very able worker and instructor, A. R. Indseth, who has perhaps done more for the advancement of choral music in his state than any other person.

Male Chorus Festival in Grand Forks, North Dakota (1904).--The account of the seventh singing festival held in Grand Forks, North Dakota, in 1904 is the last one which John Dahle reviews in Nordvesten. Two articles, written a week apart, give an insight into the quality of the program given there and John Dahle's thinking regarding ways of improving the musical performance. The first of these articles published in Nordvesten, July 14, 1904, and entitled Sangerfesten praises highly the hospitable reception given the singers by their hosts, but is critical of the first evening's concert:

> Neither soloists, chorus, nor orchestra came up to expectations. The combined choruses sounded sluggish and sleepy and the soloists did not seem to be in the mood for performing. Among the solo chorus performances the best performances were those by the Norwegian Singers' Association

> of Chicago and the Minnehaha Men's Chorus of Sioux Falls, both organizations having a number of outstanding voices...The soloists were Mrs. F. Lockwood-Iverson, Melius Christiansen, and Eivind O. Forseth of LaCrosse. The first possessed a high, clear soprano and her singing demonstrated excellent training...Melius Christiansen's able violin solos received much applause. Mr. E. O. Forseth, who had a beautiful baritone voice, was not, however, absolutely successful as a soloist. But he is yet a young man and with continued study will develop his talent considerably. The concert closed with Landkjending, which was performed somewhat better than the other combined chorus numbers.

About half of the singers attended the general rehearsal on the second day. Two of the numbers listed on the program had to be omitted. The concert on the second evening, however, seemed to go better. The soloists seemed to be in better spirits, the combined choruses had more life and power, and the solo chorus groups all performed well while some with their expressive and full-bodied singing aroused thunderous applause:

> The best solo choruses were Fram, St. Paul, and Normanna, La Crosse. After Fram's appearance, the audience clapped so long and insistently that the director had to come out and take a bow.--Normanna's number was beautifully performed and heartily applauded. Mr. Forseth can be very proud of his chorus. The soloists performed much better the second evening. Mrs. Lockwood-Iverson was encored enthusiastically. The combined chorus sang old, well-known and comparatively easy songs which most of the singers knew from memory. They were, therefore, well performed...On the whole it was one of the most successful concerts the association has given.

At the Association's business meeting, LaCrosse, Wisconsin, invited the singers to hold its festival in their city in 1906. Jens Flaaten of Duluth was re-elected director-in-chief for the third consecutive time. A music committee was elected to enlarge the song repertoire of the Association. These committee members were Erik Oulie, John Dahle, and J. Schefstad.

It is evident that the directors of the various choruses in the Association were disturbed about the lack of progress in furthering better festival singing and extending the repertoire of the organization. Remedies would have to be found to insure good rehearsal attendance. Rehearsals must become more challenging and the director-in-chief capable of motivating the singers to study and learn more difficult and newer music instead of omitting it from the program when the singers bogged down. The singers needed help to enlarge their understanding. The director-in-chief should be able to instruct his singers, not merely to direct them. These and other ideas designed to upgrade the level of performance of the solo choruses allowed to perform were considered vital. But the delegate assemblies of the convention, made up of men devoted to the association but often lacking in musical training and experience outnumbered the number of directors and trained musicians with the result that musical values suffered.

It was left to John Dahle to jar the sensibilities of the Association. That he was respected by the association for his musicianship was well established. That he was an honest and fearless critic who tried through his critical appraisals to establish higher levels of musical taste through performance of good music was also an established fact. The article which he published in

Nordvesten, July 21, 1904, "More about the Grand Forks Sangerfest," provided the singing societies in the Northwest with much food for thought. It began by re-emphasizing the appreciation of the Association for the outstanding reception and hospitality extended by their Grand Forks hosts, considering the efforts of the local society in arranging the details of the festival and in promoting the social aspects of the occasion as "something quite unique in the history of the Association." He then launched into the chief purpose of the discussion:

> If the singing festival was more than satisfactory in social respects, it was far from satisfactory, musically speaking. Nor can we expect this aspect to be any better as long as all the important decisions are in the hands of a more or less random musical delegation whose requirements or standards are not sufficiently high. That the present Association's director-in-chief can produce very satisfying orchestra music is beyond doubt, for he is an able and competent orchestra director. But this time he did not come up to our expectations. These continual Norwegian and Swedish "Echoes." Are such anything to invite the public's interest at the Grand Concerts every year? Naturally the melodies are all right, but their setting and entire arrangement strongly remind one of American "Ragtime." Why didn't the orchestra play Bojarernes Indtogsmarsch as listed on the program?
>
> That the same orchestra shall perform the music at our festivals year after year makes just as little sense as that a man who understands little about singing shall instruct and direct the combined choruses year after year. Not a trace of progress can be made this way. That the director is absorbed in his band or orchestra is understandable. Choir singing is a field outside his experience and can blow luke warm or cold--as best it can. The happy singers like to hear that they are all so good and that the songs which they have been unable to master by themselves in

an hour's practice may just as well be left off the program. The choir singing, which should be the chief feature of a singing festival, was not up to standard this year...Thelarge audience clapped,--but, of course, the masses do not have high standards.

The musicians and singers will have to begin to set higher goals and take more sensible measures if Norwegian music is to become of any significance to our American people. The election or at any rate the nomination of the director-in-chief should be left in the hands of all of the music directors, considering the fact that there are delegates who are limited enough in musical background to assert what the writer heard stated in all seriousness--that only one man could direct such combined chorus numbers as _Naar Fjordene blaaner_, _Landkjending_, etc.; and, as a result, this person must constantly be re-elected. The re-elected director-in-chief who himself has declared that it was meaningless to re-elect him should resign and content himself with retaining the directorship of the orchestra.

The Singers' Association music directors should get together and choose the two joint directors, who on behalf of the Association should visit the various societies of the Association and go through the combined chorus numbers.--A representative program committee should meet and select the program for the Norwegian Singing Festivals, choose the choir songs, orchestra numbers, soloists, etc. The individual singing societies which appear should be required to audition and only the genuinely outstanding societies be permitted to appear solo. In this way the Singers' Association should be able to realize its objectives in a better way than heretofore.

One has the right to expect that the news papers in the city where a singing festival is held would give an accurate report about this unique event in their city's history. There is no doubt that _Normanden_'s reporter wished to be impartial and reliable. But it would have done no harm if the aforementioned had been as attentive and alert at the concerts as at the Association's business meeting...Some misleading and inaccurate information could at any rate have been avoided. The press in this country, as is known, is inclined to speak in superlatives. To praise indiscriminately in order to be in everyone's good graces is a besetting sin. We do not agree with this policy. It is a very human failing and one is therefore inclined to excuse it. It is much worse when one as a result of indiscriminate partiality praises that which is not praiseworthy and neglects to give recognition to that which patently deserves it. In this respect, however, *Normanden*'s critics have not erred as have the city's English dailies. We shall pay no further attention to them in these observations.

We fail to understand whose interests *Normanden* champions when it speaks of the thunderous applause which was supposed to have been given to very average groups which neither the musicians present nor the general public recognized as outstanding, nor do we understand the equally telling silence regarding the performances of real merit. This does not apply to *Normanden* to as great an extent as it does to several other papers whose singing festival reviews have teemed with so many inaccuracies that one might entertain justifiable doubt as to whether the reviewers in question really had been in attendance at the festival.

One of our big Norwegian newspapers, which otherwise has the reputation for accurate reporting this time reports some of the purest nonsense. It reports, for example, that *Vestanveir* was conducted by Askelund, while the fact is that the number was not sung at all:--further, that a number composed by the director-in-chief was played by the orchestra; but the composition to which the article refers was written by his brother, who for the past few years has been studying in Germany,--also that the Norwegian "Ekkoer!" were collected! by Flaaten, which is not the case, since they were collected by a Mr. Hustad of Duluth, etc. etc....These facts speak for themselves.

But to return to *Normanden* we should like to point out a few other essentially less important

> inaccuracies, since they concern the singers' convention business meeting. "There were," it states quite correctly, "three candidates nominated for the position of director-in-chief: Erik Oulie, John Dahle, and Jens Flaaten. Oulie and Dahle received three votes each, Flaaten 33." This is not correct and Normanden will certainly correct the statement when it is made aware of its error. John Dahle was quite correctly nominated by A.C. Floan of St. Paul, but he at once refused the nomination as he did not wish to be considered a candidate and nominated Erik Oulie of Minneapolis. In spite of this declaration Dahle received quite a few votes, about eleven if we remember correctly.

In a period just emerging from a pioneer status, and rapidly becoming dominated by materialistic values, Dahle realized the need for promoting the aesthetic and human values inherent in music. Whether man participated in secular or sacred music, he felt that the musical experience should be an ennobling influence in man's life. Music, he believed to be a divine gift which demanded involvement of man's whole being such that it would enrich his life, refine his existence, and transform the very world in which he lived. His ability to express himself both in speech and writing proved a constructive force in building musical values and in educating the Scandinavian immigrants to a higher level of cultural awareness. The Northwestern Singing Association adopted many of his suggestions for improving its festivals. The role of the critic is not an easy one; but Dahle backed up his constructive criticism in positive demonstrations to prove the value of his ideas.

Male Chorus Festival in La Crosse, Wisconsin (1906).--
When the eighth singing festival was held in LaCrosse, Wisconsin, in July, 1906, Dahle was asked to succeed Jens Flaaten, who had resigned from the position as director-in-chief. The program was a difficult one since the experiment of trying an added matinee performance was tried. The concerts in the past in trying to include combined choruses and orchestra numbers had become very long and it was felt that the matinee might alleviate this situation.

The Germans had also held a singing festival in LaCrosse that summer, so a large, temporary auditorium had been built. The soloists engaged for this festival were Gustav Holmquist, Clara Mae-Hammer of Winona and the violinist Peter Peterson of LaCrosse. Professor Dana's orchestra played several orchestral selections.[8] The Governor of the state as well as other state dignitaries attended the evening concerts.[9]

Dahle experienced the same difficulty as previous directors of the combined chorus had in that the singers had not mastered their parts and there was need to omit two numbers because of their lack of preparation. He did not condone this but called for stringent revision of the association's rules to help correct such situations. Julius Jaeger of Chicago nominated John Dahle for reelection as director-in-chief, but Dahle withdrew his name from the ballot since he did not wish to be considered for the post.[10]

---

[8] The complete program for the 1906 festival is given in Nordvesten, June 21, 1906.

[9] J. S. Johnson, Minnesota, p.126.

[10] "The LaCrosse Sangerfest," in Nordvesten, July 19, 1906.

Sanger-Hilsen in August, 1931, speaks of Dahle the musician as follows:

> He was an excellent chorus director, and the songs were on his lips when he interpreted the composer's intentions with eloquent, convincing power in a song rehearsal...Professor Dahle directed the 1906 festival in LaCrosse, and many still remember with joy, what spirit was aroused when John Dahle stood on the podium at that time and directed....

## Norwegian-Danish Singers' Association (1907-1908)

At the yearly business meeting held in Minneapolis in 1907, the Association's name was changed from Scandinavian to Norwegian-Danish. The 60 piece Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra was engaged to play at the ninth singing festival held in Minneapolis in 1908. Miss Beatrice Gjertsen, at the time engaged as a prima donna in Weimar, Anton Hegner, the famous Danish 'cellist, Miss Bergliot Aalrud of Chicago, and the singers' old favorite, Albert Arveschoug of New York, were the soloists. Emil Bjørn of Chicago was director-in-chief and Erik Ouli of Minneapolis, assistant director. Grieg's Landkjending was heard to full advantage with the chorus supported by the orchestra and the mighty pipe organ played by Mr. Askeland.[11]

## Norwegian Singers' Association of America (1910)

Sanger Hilsen, the official magazine of the Norwegian Singers' Association, was established at the yearly convention in Chicago in 1909 with a subscription list of 500, which had risen to 2,000 by 1914. The convention held at the festival in 1910 resolved to change the name of the Association to the Norwegian Singers' Association of America, since the Danes had organized their own Association which they supported. An effort had been made to merge the Pacific Coast Association with the Northwestern Association but the distance and the expense involved proved deterrents. However, at the yearly meeting in Duluth in 1911 Nordmaendenes Singing Society of Hoboken, New Jersey, and others were admitted to membership. The Fargo festival convention in 1912 elected the directors who would be in charge of the singers' group planning to sing during Norway's Centennial festival in 1914. Emil Bjørn of Chicago was to be the head director and Carlo Sperati, assistant director. The Association now numbered some 50 societies with over 1400 active members.[12]

---

[11] J. S. Johnson, p. 126.

## Nordisk Sang Album for Male Chorus

John Dahle published one more collection of Norwegian male chorus selections, Nordisk Sang Album in 1909. To his earlier selection of the best Norwegian men's chorus selections he added the best of the contemporary Norwegian output. The song book included 110 selections and provided an invaluable source of repertoire for the many Norwegian male choruses throughout the country. While his earlier collections were patterned quite closely on those of Johan D. Behrens, regarding the choice of song selections and arrangements, the Nordisk Sang Album had no Behrens' arrangements.

---

[12] J. S. Johnson, pp. 127-128.

Nordisk Sang Album contains three folk melodies arranged by Edvard Grieg, including Den Store, hvide Flok ("The Great White Host"). This folk melody of unknown origin has been set to the words of the Danish hymn writer, Hans Adolf Brorson. Grieg has in his harmonic treatment of this melody elevated the song into an art song. Two choruses from Sigurd Jorsalfer by Grieg as well as his Landkjending are included. There are several roundels and spring dance type songs as well as another charming polska, Vermlandspolska, the Swedish folk tune being harmonized by P. Heize. J. P. E. Hartmann (the German musician who came to Copenhagen to lead the royal band and stayed there during his lifetime) has five selections included. It is interesting to note the more placid character of the Danish folk songs. Elverhøj, for example, moves in step-wise fashion in smooth flowing lines with skips no larger than thirds and fifths to break the flow occasionally. The contour of Norwegian folk melodies is often marked by a more restless line and the rhythmic character is more pronounced. Of the older school Reissiger is represented with nine selections. Otherwise the contemporaries such as Paulus, Borg, Selmer, Holter, Svendsen, Elling, and Haarklou are representative. Two of the Norwegian melodies arranged by Dahle reveal him as an able arranger.

### Some Viewpoints on the Male Chorus

Most of the pioneer male chorus societies were started by men who had sung in a male chorus in Norway and wishing to continue singing in a group looked for others with the same inclinations and together they formed a group. Often there was not even a qualified director to help them. Dr. Nannestad in Nordmands Forbundet gave an idea of what such organizations as the Northwestern Singing Society Association meant to the immigrant communities. He expressed his feelings and a nostalgia for his past experience in male choruses in Norway.

> It was in the year 1891 out on the Dakota Prairies. Intense heat scorched and burned,--burned and scorched every living thing until every blade of grass was brown and every leaf withered. The days went by. Worse and worse. Dust--Sun--Heat--Heat--Sun--Dust--. It was enough to make a man crazy. Then by chance one day I read the following notice in the newspaper: "All who are interested in organizing a Norwegian Singers' Association are invited to meet in Sioux Falls, Sept. 24, in order to plan the project."
>
> A nostalgic twinge went through me. A Norwegian Singing Society here in America! Old memories came streaming--all the way from childhood. My singing teachers appeared before me as if they were alive. I saw Conradi going through the scales with us--up and down, down and up... I heard Grøndahl at the organ, that odd-looking old school organ at Gjertsen's School in Christiania. He let his fingers glide dreamily over the keys. His eyes had a curiously veiled expression. The stream of music flowed about us and we boys sat there looking at one another and then at Grøndahl who continued to improvise for a long while. Then he seemed to recall where he was and began to tell us in his own inimitable way about the great role which singing and music play in a person's life. He reminisced of singing trips and festivals, excursions to Lund, Paris, and other places. "Now we must sing," he broke off suddenly. He seemed so wonderful as he sat up there at the organ. We boys did not always understand all that he said about the values of music, but this much we knew that these

> hours meant a great deal to us, and so we sang:
>
> Sing in youth's gay, happy spring
> Sing in life's bright summer
> Songs which from the heart doth wing
> In the heart will slumber
> One day down life's autumn lanes
> Songs of youth's familiar strains
> Will return in greeting.
>
> I saw Behrens' large, lean figure before me... He looked as he did at the beginning of the '80's when he conducted the Students' Singing Society. His sharp eyes ran like lightning over the bass and tenor sections. I could hear him as he gave one of those brief talks just before the Society was to perform. I have never before or since that time heard any man who could inspire one in a few brief words as Behrens could...Such and similar memories went through my mind as I read the notice out there on the Dakota prairie. I already envisioned the Singing Association spreading its branches throughout all of the American states like the ash tree in our old myths. When Sept. 24 came, I rode over the scorched burned prairies down to Sioux Falls.[13]

Nannestad also pointed out that the restless pace of life in America was not conducive to the forwarding of musical life such as he had been accustomed to in Europe. Music was not a part of American life. Everyone seemed too much concerned with his daily occupation. Furthermore America lacked a national musical tradition upon which composers could build. Nor were American composers disposed toward writing music for male choruses. On the whole Americans had no interest in the male chorus. Not that they didn't enjoy listening to a male chorus when an opportunity presented itself but they never felt the urge to organize such a group, with the result that American male choruses were very few in number and limited to the larger cities or to University groups. Nannestad felt that the large singing festivals which the Singers' Association promoted every other year were a powerful educational force both for the singers and many of the would-be directors and gave an opportunity to perform larger works with orchestral accompaniment and to hear distinguished solo work which widened the musical horizons of the smaller societies.[14]

---

[13] J. R. Nannestad, "Lidt om Norsk mandssang i Amerika," in Nordmands Forbundet, III (June 1910), 296-297.

Carl Hansen pointed out that the Norwegian Male Chorus in America has been and is one of the chief factors in developing the feeling for "Norwegianness" among the second and third generation Norwegian-Americans. He observed:

> It is a distressing fact that many of the most cultured people, who have been members of the best choruses in Norway, have been distinguished by their absence in singing groups in America because our singing lacked the traditional cultural background. It never seems to have occurred to them that a cultural pioneer work is being performed in the improvement of singing here.[15]

## John Dahle and the Male Chorus

Throughout John Dahle's lifetime the male chorus remained a permanent interest, and he organized such singing societies or conducted them in places where they were already organized and in need of a director. His reactions toward the big Scandinavian Singers' Union have already been noted. Through the smaller Northwestern Association of Scandinavian Singers he was able to put many of his ideas into practice and to promote higher musical standards. He was always sharply critical of those singers, for example, who looked upon the festival meetings as social gatherings and who failed to attend rehearsals and concerts. It was difficult for a director to whip a large chorus into shape if the members were not present or if they did not know their song material. In the early years of the organization's festivals, he wrote insistently about these problems as well as writing about organizational policies excluding the singing instructors and directors from participation in the delegates' business meetings. He was obviously not the only director who felt the necessity for working toward more musical goals, but he was unique in having the ability to offer constructive criticism in speech and writing which was clear and effective and in being associated with the newspaper Nordvesten (1902-1905), in which he published critical reviews on music and musical life among the Norwegian-Americans and other articles on music performance in the wider community. That his suggestions about the need for insistence on having the membership of the Northwestern Singers' Association attend all rehearsals and concerts were heeded may be inferred from the revised By Laws of the organization in 1924, which state that a deposit of $1.00

---

[14] Nannestad, 298-319.

[15] Carl Hansen, "Det Norske Foreningsliv i Amerika," in Johs. B. Wist, Norsk-Amerikanernes Festskrift 1914, p. 277. The entire article gives an excellent summary of the development of the Norwegian Male Chorus in America, pp. 266-291.

was to be made with the head treasurer as a guarantee of each singer's participation in each rehearsal and concert so that if two rehearsals and two concerts were held, $2.00 were to be deposited for each participant. The rules further state:

> At the end of the first general rehearsal each singer participating shall show his ticket and submit the corresponding coupon to the treasurer. This will be repeated after the first concert, after the second general rehearsal, and after the second concert in order to indicate which singers have participated...After the last concert, when the head treasurer has checked the various coupons and finds that the singers have participated in all the rehearsals and concerts, he will return the money deposited...The money which is forfeited shall go to the Norwegian Singers' Association.[16]

## Function of the Norwegian-American Male Chorus

To summarize the role which the Norwegian male chorus has had in Norwegian-American life, one must realize its significance both as a social and musical institution. The singing society and its activities helped the immigrant to find cultural identity. The social activities provided wholesome entertainment and recreation for families and friends. The bond of fellowship was a strong motivating force behind these groups. The tradition of serenading the home when a fellow member had a birthday, of singing for community and church activities was beneficial not only to the individual members but also to the larger community as well. The singing society was an integrating force, open to all who enjoyed singing. Furthermore it gave color to an otherwise drab, work-a-day world. The need for emotional release, for aesthetic stimulation, for stimulating cultural awareness and bridging the gap of cultural loss felt so keenly by the immigrants particularly of the first generation was fulfilled through such societies. As the movement grew in force and strength, musical values became more apparent.

---

[16] "Statement of the Association's By Laws," in Sanger-Hilsen, XV (June 1924), 4.

Under skilled leadership, the festivals nourished the ideal of elevating musical taste. John Dahle did yeoman service in this respect through his editing and publishing of materials, instructing of various societies, directing large festival groups, and courageously insisting in his critical writing on the need for self improvement, higher standards of musical performance, and the use of the best Nordic song literature.

Much debate pro and con has been reviewed in Sanger-Hilsen regarding the language question. Many have insisted that only through good translations of the Norwegian male chorus repertoire will this song literature be transplanted into American culture. Others have just as insistently held out for the use of the vernacular. The singing societies, on the whole, have favored the use of the original language and have continued to sing of Norway's sagas, its folk traditions, and its beautiful landscape in the native language. In so doing they have forged a significant cultural link in the lives of Norwegian-Americans as well as of other elements in the American population. Many societies have also included English songs on their programs. Carl Hansen, at one time the director of the Norwegian Glee Club in Minneapolis, has an article in Sanger-Hilsen, XXV (Jan. 1934), regarding this issue:

> As examples of the views of musically cultured Americans in regard to songs in English I might quote some of our local critics. At its last concert the Norwegian Glee Club as usual had one group in English (American compositions), and Dr. James Davies (Minneapolis Tribune), English by birth, American by education and professor of German at our university says of this: "Frankly I prefer this organization of singers in songs of the great Northland; they sing them better, freer, and they are better music than for example the Dix, 'The Trumpeter,' which is good enough in a melodramatic sense, or than Oley Speaks 'dear little Sylvia,' which does not grow less maudlin with repeated hearings."
>
> The critic of the Minneapolis Star, Mr. Sherman, American by birth and education, speaks very highly of our Scandinavian songs, but passes lightly over our songs in English. Invariably our local American critics treat our efforts in English in this manner. A few years ago Dr. Harry A. Bellows, a very highly educated American of "Mayflower" antecedents, wrote that organizations like the Norwegian Glee Club had no real mission here if they did not sing the songs of their homelands...
>
> If by singing our songs in the true spirit we have fostered in our adopted land love for the beautiful and encouraged the desire to give expression to the finer feelings by means of male chorus music, then we have attained a most laudable object...
>
> I well remember the musical life of Minneapolis fifty years ago. There were Swedish, Norwegian and German male choruses, not a single American one. If an American male quartet put in an appearance it would generally sing very light stuff, "take offs" and the so-called "comical songs." Now we have the Apollo Club and a large number of other American choruses, but as a rule

they do not sing those insipid or silly songs. During the last several seasons of the Apollo Club I have attended almost every concert, and the programs have been absolutely cleansed of trashy stuff. Only the finest kind of music has been given, and that very artistically. I do not mean to say that this development is entirely due to the Scandinavian choruses, but I do believe that they have something to do with it. The Apollo Club sings its fine music in very much the same spirit that the students' choruses from abroad and our best Scandinavian choruses in this country give to their songs. It was not so even with the Apollo Club thirty years ago.

# V

# JOHN DAHLE IN IOWA

As the Norwegian settlements steadily pushed west, northwestward into Iowa, Minnesota, and the Dakotas with the hope of finding cheap land after the passage of the Homestead Act in 1862, and after the expansion of the railroads from 1860-1880 with their stake in promoting the development of these areas, the Norwegian-American Lutheran church also extended its frontiers. The Norwegian immigrant's concern that his children receive religious instruction and learn the Norwegian language was reflected in his interest in maintaining parochial schools or "Norwegian Schools" in the congregations of the church parishes. This religious instruction was oriented toward preparation for confirmation and stressed the memorization of Luther's Catechism, Pontoppidon's Explanation, and the study of Bible History. It included the learning of the traditional Lutheran chorales and hymns and instruction in singing them. Parochial school teachers also taught the children to read and write the Norwegian language. There was an insistence among many parents that their children be confirmed "in Norwegian" as a means of combating their too rapid Americanization. The perpetuation of the native language, the "heart" language of the pioneer, was thought to be essential to cultural continuity. The teachers of the parochial schools also served in the role of klokker or leaders of the congregational singing. When congregations eventually installed reed organs and organized church choirs to lead the singing, the office of the klokker was discontinued. Pastor J.C.K. Preus states:

> The compensation of the teachers was very modest, usually eight, ten, or twelve dollars a month, plus food and shelter when away from the home district. In rare instances the salary ranged up to eighteen or twenty dollars. As a consequence most of these teachers, all men of the early pioneer period, took a homestead or sought other employment for additional income. Many teacher precentors sang well. Some of them directed choirs. It is almost unbelievable that already in 1847 the Rev. J.W.C. Dietrichson started what he called a "singing school" in his congregation.[1]

## Church Musician in Rural Iowa

In 1886, John Dahle accepted a position as Norwegian school teacher, organist, and choir director at the Norwegian Synod Church in Roland, Iowa, and a few years later served in the same capacity at Story City, Iowa. During the years he spent in Iowa, he also collaborated with Pastor E. Jensen in arranging and publishing music for children and young people for use in parochial schools, Sunday Schools, and the homes. Pastor Jensen had taught six years in the elementary schools of Norway. After his ordination to the ministry in America in 1870, he became aware of the lack of interest in good church music and congregational singing in the immigrant church. To meet this need he published song books to help in the instruction of the youth and to provide song materials for beginning choirs. Among these was the series called Børneharpen, which consisted of four volumes. John Dahle assisted Pastor Jensen in the editing and arranging of the music for volume three of this series. The book Børneharpen: For Uge og Søndagsskolen og Hjemmet ("The Children's Harp: A Song Book for Week Day, Sunday School and Home"), was published in 1890. The preface urged all parochial school teachers to continue to use the first two volumes of the series with its method for teaching note reading skills. The method was based on that of Joh. Behrens' Sanglaere (Singing Method). The preface to volume three also suggested that the children learn to sing the songs included both with and without accompaniment and insisted on the need for practicing the songs in a faster tempo than that heard in congregational singing, admonishing that "the slow, sluggish chorale singing heard there can not inspire the children's interest in learning the chorales." Of the 81 songs included over half were four part arrangements, ten were three part, nine were unison, and one was a duet. Some arrangements could be sung as unison or two part with optional organ accompaniment. Eighteen of the hymns were in English, one of which "Safe in the Arms of Jesus," was by John Dahle. He also wrote two Norwegian hymns for the collection *Idag skal ålting sjunge* ("All Things This Day Shall Sing"), *Vaag, o sjael, og bede* ("Awake, O Soul and Pray"), and the music for Jensen's text *De Vise i Bethlehem* ("The Wise Men in Bethlehem"). Otherwise German Chorales predominated with musical settings by Lindeman, Weyse, Hassler, J.A.P. Schulz, Fr. Silcher included.

---

[1] J. C. K. Preus, The History of the Choral Union of the Evangelical Lutheran Church 1847-1960 (Minneapolis, 1960), pp. 3-4.

Dahle and Jensen also edited and published *Sange til Børneharpen* ("Songs for the Children's Harp"), (Story City, Iowa, 1890). This volume included 202 hymn texts which could be sung to the melodies in volumes one through three of *Børneharpen*.[2]

### Cultural Activities in and around Story City, Iowa, in the Late 1870's

The Norwegian settlement in and around Story City was founded as early as 1854 by four Norwegian immigrants who had left the settlement at Liston, Illinois, to establish a home in Iowa, at this time very sparsely settled.[3] H. Tjernagel in an article in *Nordmands Forbundet*, 1922, gives an interesting account of the growth of cultural activities during his youth and young manhood which was spent in this community and refers to several pioneer immigrant musicians and their influence. Among them was John Dahle.

As a child on the Iowa prairies, in the late seventies,

---

[2] See Gerhard M. Cartford, "Music for Youth in an Emerging Church," in *Studies and Records*, XXII (Northfield, 1965), 162-177.

[3] *Nordvesten*, June 16, 1904, carries a notice of Story City's festival honoring the fiftieth anniversary of its founding.

Tjernagel was drawn to people with musical ability as were his three brothers and the other young people in the community:

> There was the hunchback "Nils maler" who always hummed and sang Norwegian melodies as he went about his work. There were the Kittlesen brothers who were klokkers and led the singing in church. My father played the accordian so beautifully that neighbors and friends from far and near came to hear him; and my uncle "Store Per," the prairie's strongest man, was an excellent violinist...One of our neighbors, Lars Henderson Østebo, had an harmonium...A snekker (carpenter) in the community had a beautiful bass voice. It was a revelation to hear "Nils maler" and him sing duets.
>
> We boys tried to harmonize songs by ear and to our great joy were asked to join the church choir. When Pastor Nils Amlund and his wife, both of whom were musical, induced the talented Hans Dale to instruct the choir and be precentor, the choir first learned part singing. Mrs. Amlund had brought her organ from Norway and her playing seemed so beautiful that we counted the days until choir rehearsals.
>
> Hans Dale, a seminarist from Stord, had brought much music with him from Norway; and before long he organized a male quartet. He was the first tenor, his brother Lars, second tenor, my brother Peter, first bass, and Anfin Braendvik, second bass. This pioneer quartet performed Behrens' harmonious arrangements in many a private home and at many community gatherings on numberless occasions.
>
> But we boys also wanted instrumental music and decided to organize a small orchestra of four violins, a flute, clarinet, and cornet. Our parents helped us finance the project...Having no instructor we had to learn by ourselves...Other farm boys in the neighborhood wanted to join us and form a band, which eventually grew to a group of fourteen, only two of whom were over twenty years of age...we had little assistance until Herman Hagen came to join the band. He had played cornet under Sperati in Christiania and helped us a great deal.
>
> To our great joy a professional musician, Anton Pedersen, who had also played in the Christiania brigade band as well as in a large orchestra in

Stockholm came to Jewell Junction from Norway. We asked him to become our director. He was an excellent flutist. We prairie boys had never imagined that anyone could play so well. We were luckier than we knew. He demanded that we get basic training and since he could play almost all instruments we had excellent instruction. We started to go on small concert tours to neighboring towns where we had large audiences who wanted to hear the farmer boys play their classical programs and the director play his beautiful flute solos. The financial returns were never high, but no one could say that people weren't interested in hearing our Riverside Band.

We took part in a big band tournament in which we were the only band composed of farmer boys, and even though we had uniforms we didn't look as sharp as some of the city groups. But we soon attracted much attention because of our good ensemble work and excellent choice of music which was a revelation to the bands assembled there who were mainly accustomed to playing ragtime, though they played it well. Our Norwegian leader did not play this kind of music. When our modest director played a piccolo solo with band accompaniment there was genuine amazement which rose to great enthusiasm when he later played some of his best virtuoso flute solos...The tour brought more praise than money, but we did not care. It was a red letter day in our lives ...Most of us boys continued to stay on the farms and to have music in our homes. We had a wider appreciation and deeper understanding of life because of it.

Our teacher went to Chicago where he became prominent in music activities...But then John Dahle, the well-known singing instructor, came into the picture. We had sung under his remarkable direction at church concerts, but we had never dreamed of seeing his baton leading the band. We were very fortunate to get him to take over the direction here. Professor Dahle possessed a thorough Norwegian musical preparation, a part of his heritage from Østre Slidre, Valdres. He gave us much assistance and advice on performance and insight into interpreting music and laid great emphasis on getting more soul and expression into the music than the ordinary Yankee bands did. Many of us were members of his choir, where we sang Händel's Messiah, Haydn's Creation, and other larger works. We got a

> deeper insight into music in its universality through his work. Though Dahle did not conduct the band for a long period, many of us later sang under him when he directed the large festival choirs every third year at the Norwegian Synod's church meetings....[4]

Another of the Tjernagel brothers, Nehemias, in a letter to the editor of Sanger-Hilsen, August 17, 1931, writes as follows about John Dahle:

> Mr. Dahle came first to Roland, Iowa, six miles east of Story City, as a Norwegian school teacher, organist, and choir director. Many of us from this area were members of his church choir. We even gave choir concerts in neighboring towns such as Nevada. Genuinely good church music was presented and on the whole the critical appraisals were good. He had the ability to inspire his singers and managed to get amateurs to sing very artistically. Many of the choir had good voices. Dahle had good discipline. He would not tolerate any giggling or inattention; therefore everything went well. Later he moved to Story City and continued in the same work. He took several of us with him to a Synod convention meeting in Bode, Iowa, where, according to reports, the first concert by combined church choruses in the Synod was performed. Later these large combined choirs became more and more common.
>
> Dahle also took part in promoting men's chorus work down here, although Hans Dale, Lars Dale, P. G. Tjernagel and Anfin Braendvik had sung in a quartet and presented remarkable music for some time before he arrived here. He also conducted the Norwegian Riverside Band for a time. This band was in advance of its day, for first class music was already being played in this area in the eighties. Our able conductor, Anton Petersen, left us to go to Chicago to play in Theodore Thomas' Orchestra. Though Dahle was not an experienced band director, he knew how to fire us to keep up our work in the right way. He possessed a fine artistic spirit both as a performer and as a creative artist and had the merit of giving

---

[4] H. Tjernagel, "Riverside Musikkorps," in Nordmands Forbundet, XV (Christiania, 1922), 212-217.

> his talent in the service of others. His remarkable gift of words and his humor added spice to his instruction whether he spoke of the bitter or the sweet. He mixed well with all types of people, gave of his talents freely, even though there was no monetary reward. If we only had at hand all the winged speeches he made down here on various occasions, it would require a book to contain them. Who has ever heard his equal in the ability to speak extemporaneously and to charm an audience beyond belief? At small social gatherings he could tell a story in such a way that the group sat with mouths agape, though his tales were never indiscreet nor calculated to arouse a boisterous response. Underneath his witticisms there was something which suggested deep seriousness and a contempt for anything resembling indecent frivolity. Some times his words came like a clap of thunder, openly and bluntly, but they seldom left any unnecessary hurt. He taught effectually. If he had had a Boswell at his heels, Samuel Johnson himself would long since have been in second place...This must be enough now about our old friend, who did so much in order that this area might experience a closer acquaintance with and develop a more universal feeling for genuinely good music. He became a symbol of leadership to so many people. Such impulses are far reaching. Who can measure their influence?

John Dahle's interest in working for song festivals presented by combined Lutheran church choirs at the Synod church conventions was a natural consequence of the organizational work he had experienced with the male chorus both in Norway and in America. To promote a union of Norwegian Lutheran church choir singers was to become one of his goals, and the work which he accomplished in the rural Iowa communities of Roland and Story City in encouraging such joint participation was a first step in this direction. This area of the state was the cradle in which the future choral development of the church was nourished.

## The Need for Qualified Music Teachers

The church during the eighties experienced change through division and conflict which resulted in a realignment among the various church bodies. Fundamental doctrines were usually not so much the issue as differences of opinion in regard to ritual and the manner of church government. By 1886 "the anti Missourian wing of the Norwegian Synod withdrew from the parent body and marshalled its forces under the name the Anti-Missourian Brotherhood. In 1890 the Anti-Missourian Brotherhood, the Norwegian Augustana and the Conference merged their forces and became the United Lutheran Church."[5] Among the three Norwegian church bodies or synods after 1890 (the Norwegian Synod, the Hauge Synod, and the United Church) there was always a concern for the training of future pastors, parochial teachers, and an enlightened laity. A part of the training included in all the colleges, normal schools, and academies, was in music; and daily chapel exercises brought acquaintance with the Lutheran chorales and hymns sung as a regular part of the chapel hour service. That the Norwegian Synod's Theological Seminary which had been transferred from Madison, Wisconsin, to Robbinsdale, Minnesota, in 1889, had not always been able to include instruction in singing is apparent from the following letter in Kirketidende, Sept. 14, 1895, written by a pastor who felt that such instruction was a vital necessity:

---

[5] O. M. Norlie, History of the Norwegian People in America (Minneapolis, 1925), p. 259.

> To Friends of Luther Seminary
>
> The Minnesota District Meeting this year refused to contribute to Mrs. Stub's salary as a teacher of singing at Luther Seminary. This is not a large sum and certainly can be raised through free-will offerings. The writer will begin by subscribing five dollars for the coming year and friends of singing and of Luther Seminary will surely follow this example. The younger theological students should be especially able to give evidence as to the benefit they have received from this instruction. There must be instruction in singing at the Seminary and Mrs. Stub is both near at hand and well qualified for the position.[6] No one knows this better than those who have personally benefited from this instruction. We are certainly Lutherans of Luther's persuasion and should therefore realize that a pastor should know how to sing and chant. And chanting is indeed singing...There is at present instruction in singing at Decorah, but that has nothing to do with this matter. Many of our theological students are not graduates of Luther College...In my day there was no instruction in singing at the Seminary, and I and surely many others have felt the lack of this training in our capacity as pastors. I know also that many of the younger pastors, who have benefited from Mrs. Stub's training, have had a great advantage in their work as pastors because of their training in singing. They have organized the youth and instructed them in singing and have thereby reached many who would otherwise not have been easy to bring into congregational activities.

John Dahle's training in church music, his work with church choirs, and his fine reputation as an instructor in singing made him a logical choice for teaching in the colleges and seminaries of the church. In 1889, he was engaged to teach singing and chant at the Theological Seminary during Mrs. Stub's absence in Europe. For several years he was alternately engaged in this work and in college teaching. Teachers' salaries at this time were quite inadequate; and for this reason, he often turned to other activities and work to supplement the income necessary to maintain home and family. His chief interest, however, was music, and he worked consistently as a musician to improve the quality of song materials and performance among the Norwegian-Americans both as a musician working within the church and the community.

---

[6] John Dahle, "Musicians and Musical Life among the Norwegians in America," in Nordvesten, April 3, April 10, and April 17, 1902, begins a series of articles on Norwegian-American artists and organizations. The first three of these give a biographical sketch of Mrs. Valborg Hovind Stub. Mrs. Stub had studied with world famous teachers in Leipzig and Weimar. In 1884 she married Prof. H. G. Stub of the Theological Seminary faculty in Madison, Wis. From 1889 to 1900 she studied in Paris with the renowned Madame Marchesi. Upon her return to America, she taught singing and chant at the Theological Seminary, which had been transferred to Robbinsdale, Minn.

## VI

## EXTENDED ACTIVITIES IN MINNESOTA

### Director of Choral Music: The Twin Cities

Among the nationality groups which had poured into the city of Minneapolis in the eighties, the Norwegians were well represented. By 1890, they had organized many societies emphasizing common cultural interests in literary, musical, or religious activities which served to enrich the social, intellectual, and spiritual development of the Norwegian-American community. Nordmaendenes Singing Society, the oldest of the Twin Cities' Norwegian Singing Societies, was organized as early as 1866. In 1888 under the direction of Halfdan Wiberg the membership had risen to fifty and preparations were being made to participate in the Chicago Music Festival in 1889. Unfortunately Mr. Wiberg returned to Norway shortly before Christmas, 1888, and the organization had to secure a new director. It was fortunate in securing Carlo A. Sperati to take over the leadership...[1]

> A short while after its return from the Chicago Sangerfest in 1889 Nordmaendenes again was without

---

[1] An article "Nordmaendenes Singing Society," which gives the history of this organization, is to be found in Nordvesten (July 10, 1902). It is a reprint of an article published earlier in Minneapolis Tidende.

> a leader...The well known John Dahle was induced to come up from Story City, Iowa, to assume the directorship. Professor Dahle was one of the best known men in musical life among Norwegian-Americans...His song books for Scandinavian male choruses were about the only ones available for that purpose for many years.[2]

An article in Norsk-Amerikansk Musiktidende, XV (May 1, 1890), edited by John Dahle, announced that Nordmaendenes Singing Society had fifty active members, of which thirty were men and twenty were women. It added:

> The society which originally was exclusively a male chorus, has recently tried to stimulate interest in mixed choir singing also by devoting one night a week to a rehearsal for the mixed group. This is a forward step. Our women should be encouraged to take a more active part in the effort to promote singing. It would be desirable if we could hear good mixed choir singing as well as ladies' choruses at our singing festivals.

John Dahle directed Nordmaendenes until early summer of 1891 when he resigned from the position. One of the reasons for his resignation may have been his dislike for the competitive spirit of the United Scandinavian Singers' Association which would hold its singing festival in Minneapolis in 1891. An article written by Dr. T. Thams in the same magazine reveals that a guarantee fund of $5,000 had had to be subscribed by July 4, 1890, in order to underwrite the proposed festival and that the committee which had been selected to raise the funds found the task so arduous that they advised the local singing societies to cancel the festival. It was then proposed that the singing societies should head the subscription list. Their work in the community raised $2,000 of which the Norwegian and Swedish groups were responsible for $800 each and the Danish group for $400. In addition to the private subscriptions, a joint concert by the three societies was planned for June 25, at Normanna Hall, and individual concerts by each society were planned to help swell the campaign fund.[3]

---

[2] Carl Hansen, My Minneapolis (Minneapolis, 1956), p. 73.

*St. Paul and Minneapolis Pioneer Press*, February 22, 1890, reviews one such concert under the caption *Preparing for the Sangerfest*:

> An elaborate concert was given at Harmonia last evening for the benefit of the Scandinavian *Sangerfest* which is to be held in Minneapolis next year. There was a large audience. Those who took part were Miss Neally Stevens, pianist; Miss Olive Fremstad, soprano; the Sappho Quartet, and four Scandinavian singing societies, the Orpheus Singing Society (Swedish), the *Nordmaendenes* Singing Society (Norwegian), the Apollo Singing Society (Danish), and the *Nidaros* Singing Society, the St. Paul Norwegian organization. The last named society appeared to the best advantage, singing with precision and expression that denoted careful training. The others were not much backward, and judging from the efforts of all there is an abundance of good material close at hand for the *sangerfest* of 1891. Miss Stevens appeared three times on the program and was enthusiastically received. Her touch, while singularly elastic, is not always clear. She plays with commendable intelligence, however. Miss Fremstad as the vocalist of the evening scored a

---

[3] John Dahle, "Sangerfesten i 1891," in *Norsk-Amerikansk Musiktidende*, I (May 1890).

No. 1. Mai 1890. 1:ste Aarg.

# NORSK AMERIKANSK MUSIKTIDENDE

## ET MAANEDSSKRIFT MED MUSIKBILAG

REDIGERET AF JOHN DAHLE

UDGIVET AF SCANDIA PUBLISHING AND PRINTING CO.
MINNEAPOLIS ✻ MINNESOTA.

RAMSDEL ENG CO

> decided success, and the Sappho Quartet's selections were very happily rendered.[4]

Publisher of Norsk-Amerikansk Musiktidende

In addition to working with the St. Paul Synod Church Choir and the male choruses in Minneapolis and St. Paul, Dahle organized a publishing company with the purpose of publishing a music periodical to reflect the developing interest in Norwegian singing and music among the Norwegian-Americans. Carl G.O. Hansen in his book, My Minnesota, (p. 129), writes:

> Professor John Dahle, who arrived in Minneapolis in 1890 to direct Nordmaendenes Singing Society, was quite an enterprising individual, ever eager to promote musical interests. He had been in the city just a short time when he organized Skandia Publishing and Printing Co., for the publication of a monthly Norsk-Amerikansk Musiktidende ("Norwegian-American Music News"). It was rather a pretentious affair, each issue containing articles about Norwegian music and composers and several pages of music. It lasted for about a year. Possibly it was all on too large a scale. For printing plant and office the company had the historic Peterson's Hall.

The first volume, published in May of 1890, was a small volume of twenty-six pages, ten of which included informative articles on musicians and concert activities, twelve of which were musical selections for mixed choir, male chorus, solo, or duet performance, and four of which featured advertisements. The informative articles included a biographical sketch of Grieg, an article entitled Nogle Ord om Sang og Sangøvelser ("A Few Words on Singing and Choir Rehearsals"), paraphrased by Pastor O.P. Vangsness from an article written by A. Reitan for *Folkevennen* ("The People's Friend") in the 1860's, and Dr. T. Tham's article on the *Singing Festival in 1891*. Current music news reported musical activities in Minneapolis, St. Paul, at Luther Seminary, and Decorah, Iowa. In addition to the news of the concert activities of the *Nordmaendenes*, Orpheus, and Apollo (a Danish mixed choir), singing societies, there was a report of the $2,000 pipe organ about to be installed in Pastor M. Falk-Gjertsen's church. Another item reported the concert given by the Boston Symphony Orchestra, under conductor Arthur Nikisch, as a memorable event. A public opinion section of the periodical reproduced letters expressing approval of John Dahle's and E. Jensen's fine collection of hymns and chorales in *Børneharpen* Three (1890) and urged its use as a means of counteracting the influence of the "Revival trash" used by the Americans. E. Jensen's volume of *Scandinavian Songs* was also commended. An announcement was made of M. A. Paulson's half million dollar investment in the Century Piano Manufacturing Company about to be established in Minneapolis. This factory would be the first of its kind in the midwest.

---

[4] John Dahle conducted both the Nordmaendenes and the Nidaros Singing Societies on this occasion.

The music section included two mixed choir selections,--a four part homophonic setting of the Russian melody, *Jubilate Amen*, with organ accompaniment doubling the voice parts and C. Arnold's *Takker vor Gud* ("Thank We Our God"), a four part setting with a combination of homophonic and contrapuntal technique. For male chorus there was Adolph Thompsen's *Naar Fjordene*

Blaaner. Other selections were Halfdan Kjerulf's Ved Havet ("By the Sea"), a duet for two sopranos, Emma Dahl's Margretes Vuggesang ("Margaret's Cradle Song"), a solo, and a four part arrangement of the folk song Astri, mi Astri. Both English and Norwegian words were given for the last two numbers.

Perhaps the venture into publishing a music periodical was too ambitious for the times. Many a would-be author in the literary field had discovered that there was no market for his work. Dorothy Skardal comments, "To judge from the complaints of the writers themselves, only a small fraction of the immigrants ever bought books put out by one of their own number" and "what was felt to be an almost total lack of recognition or reward for literary activity was probably a major reason that the immigrants did not produce more of lasting value."[5] A music periodical at this time no doubt had limited appeal to most of the immigrants who were absorbed in the every day problems of getting and spending,--the practical matters of existence. Their cultural needs were more nearly met through their work in the musical organizations of the church and the singing societies. The average person felt little inclination, it seemed, to extend his musical horizon as an individual; he preferred group activity under leadership. Furthermore the problems of assimilation and adjustment in a new country proved a barrier. The children of the immigrants were rapidly adopting the American ways and the English language. "Many were truly uprooted and demoralized. At home they lived in one world, outside the home in another. They were still tied to the Old World, through their parents--and often through their church--but this connection was derivative and unreal."[6] The schools, both public and parochial, would serve to bridge the gap for many as they would eventually learn that their particular foreign heritage was a unique part of the diversity of cultures which were contributing to the shaping of America.

---

[5] Dorothy Burton Skardal, "The Scandinavian Immigrant Writer in America," in Studies and Records, XXI (Northfield, 1962), 29-30.

John Dahle's publication of a music periodical was the first such attempt among the Norwegian-Americans. In this journalistic venture he had no particular organization with a recognized need for buying song materials on his subscription list as he had had in publishing song books for church choirs and male choruses. It was a periodical mainly for home use and met with but limited success. Financial considerations forbade the continuation of the project. (Extant copies are listed in the bibliography.)

### Teacher at Church Colleges

From 1890 to 1892, John Dahle taught singing and Norwegian at St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota. Although organized on an academy basis in 1874, St. Olaf added a college department in 1888. Music had always been included in the curriculum, though the offerings were somewhat limited. There was no department of music as such but private instruction in piano was given and "one hour regular class instruction in singing was required of all students in the first and second classes of the academy department and all students were encouraged to join one or more of the student musical organizations such as the college band, orchestra, or the choral union."[7]

---

[6] Allan Nevins and Henry Steele Commager, History of the United States (New York, 1961), p. 307.

The study of Norwegian language and literature was also required of all students in the church colleges. In 1893, Dahle accepted a similar position at Concordia College in Moorhead, with the exception that here he also taught gymnastics. The college had been founded in 1891, to extend educational opportunities for Lutheran youth. In addition to his teaching duties, Dahle directed the Nørrona Male Chorus in Moorhead.

Although a career in college teaching had its merits, Dahle was not persuaded that this was his prime interest. He returned to St. Paul and in 1895 became organist and choir director at the First Evangelical Lutheran Church. He was very much concerned about improving church singing and church music in general. Although most churches at this time had reed organs and some had even installed pipe organs, and although church choirs had become permanent organizations in most congregations, the real problem was the lack of competent choir directors and organists. He felt that the responsibility for developing well-trained church musicians lay with the church colleges and that they had neglected this responsibility. He states his ideas about this in an article entitled "What Can Be Done for the Improvement of Church Singing and Church Music?" in Nordvesten, June 26, 1902:

---

[7] William C. Benson, *High on Manitou: A History of St. Olaf College 1874-1949* (Northfield, 1949), p. 139.

> That there are music teachers at our colleges is certainly true. The catalogues of the several colleges indicate that a large number of pupils take music lessons and that the preponderant number study piano, which certainly is commendable. But the most beautiful and noble of all music, church music, is a stepchild at our own Lutheran schools. This is not the fault of the music teachers engaged there. Most of them have themselves studied piano exclusively. Nor is it to be expected that they would apply themselves to studying that which no one, not even the school administrators, asks for or seems to be interested in...At all of our colleges there should be an opportunity to get instruction in organ and in the art of vocal music from competent instructors, and all who take such private instruction should be encouraged to study church music. Musically gifted students, interested in studying church music and voice in order to be able to accept positions as organists and choir directors in the church, ought to get free instruction. At teacher seminaries and theological seminaries voice culture and organ should be considered solid subjects and taught by capable teachers. It is of great importance that anyone involved in instructing choirs should understand the fundamental principles of correct voice production. If there were systematic, regular instruction in these subjects at all colleges, especially for those interested in church music and in teaching it in the church, good results would soon be evident.

## Norwegian Lutheran Singers' Choral Union

The idea of a Norwegian-Lutheran Singers' Choral Union was first advanced by John Dahle in Norsk Amerikansk Musiktidende in the summer of 1890, when he asked the pastors, church choir directors, and singers to consider the feasibility of organizing such a union. During the summer of 1890, Dahle invited Prof. Theo. Reimestad, Professor of Music at Augsburg College, to his home for a conference concerning the project and the two men agreed to work together for its realization. In Norsk-Amerikansk Musiktidende for December, 1890, John Dahle again suggested such a union and wrote as follows:

> In an earlier issue of this periodical a communication was directed to our church choirs which had as its objective the organizing of church choirs for the purpose of holding yearly singing festivals in various cities and large Norwegian settlements of the Northwest. Our readers' attention is again directed to this matter which we believe would have great significance in advancing the improvement of church singing and church music among us. Most people agree that something should be done to improve church singing but nothing has as yet been accomplished. As soon as possible may we hear from our choir directors, pastors, and others who are seriously interested in doing something to promote this cause so that, if possible, we may make a small beginning at our yearly church meetings next summer. There would be several advantages in holding the choral festival in conjunction with the yearly church meetings. One or two church concerts which would greatly promote interest in good church singing and in church music could be given. The singers would receive the support and help of some of the most able and interested pastors and professors, who either through their performance or in other ways could help to make these festivals productive. Let us have a church music festival next summer.[8]

---

[8] The account from Norsk-Amerikansk Musiktidende is reprinted in Nordvesten, August 21, 1902.

About the same time Prof. Theo. Reimestad wrote an article published in Ungdommens Ven ("The Young People's Friend"), in which he pointed out the need to combine the scattered vocal resources to be found in the congregations and to consider ways and means of starting an organization in order to promote the advancement of choral music and to foster a feeling of unity. However there were very few who paid any attention to the plan. The next summer the matter was brought up at a choir meeting in the Synod church in St. Paul and the choir decided to invite the Twin Cities' and neighboring church choirs to a small choral festival that summer. Invitations were sent out immediately, addressed to the pastors; but only two or three responded and the project had to be given up.

In November the same year Professor Reimestad and Pastor B. B. Haugen issued a circular inviting all interested participants to take part in a vocal festival organizational meeting to be held in Minneapolis, January 29 and 30, 1892. At the time John Dahle, who was teaching at St. Olaf College, immediately wrote an article for Skandinaven, calling attention to this invitation and urging all interested persons to attend the meeting. The circular which had been sent out received a greater response than had been anticipated. A number of representatives from choirs in the Twin Cities, Eau Claire, Northfield, Fergus Falls, and other cities came to the meeting. Two teachers, Dr. Albert Egge and John Dahle and two students attended from St. Olaf College. Several pastors were also in attendance. The organizational meeting was held in Holy Trinity Church. On January 30, 1892, the Norwegian-Lutheran Singers' Choral Union was organized. The organization's constitution stated: "The aim of this singers' association shall be to disseminate genuine church music and to encourage the appreciation for such music among our people." In the evening a large audience of about a thousand people congregated in the same church for an interesting program. The program consisted of choir numbers, organ music, and talks by Prof. Sven Oftedal, Falk Gjertsen, B. B. Haugan, and John Dahle. The next forenoon the organization's first officers were chosen. Prof. Theo. Reimestad was chosen president; Pastor B. B. Haugan, vice president; Andrew Andersen, secretary; Prof. J. L. Nydahl, treasurer; John Dahle, music director; Pastor E. Jensen, Pastor B. B. Haugan, Prof. John Dahle, Prof. Theo. Reimestad and Carl Raugland, music committee.

The first vocal festival was held in Minneapolis, July 20, 21, and 22, 1892. Two concerts were given in Holy Trinity Church, both before capacity audiences. The combined chorus numbered about 200 singers. The choirs had applied themselves diligently to learning the songs and the combined choruses sounded powerful and fresh. Many of the individual choirs appeared in special numbers and acquitted themselves very well. At the business meeting the following officers were elected:

President, Pastor B. B. Haugan; Vice President, Pastor L. P. Thorkveen; Secretary, L. Juel Haakonsen; Treasurer, J. L. Nydahl; Music Director, Prof. Theo. Reimestad; Music Committee, Prof. Reimestad, John Dahle, and Pastor E. Jensen.

The second annual festival was held in Light Guard Armory Hall, Eau Claire, Wisconsin, June 27, 28, and 29, 1893. A large number of choirs had joined the association during the year, so that the combined choir numbered twenty-three individual church choirs, with a total participation of 500 singers from Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and South Dakota. Such a response in the short period of a year and a half indicated the interest among those who loved choral music to unite and to work in fellowship for its advancement.[9]

These festivals continued on a yearly basis until 1902, at which time these song festivals were discontinued "presumably because of difficulties between the United Church and the Lutheran Free Church, whose representatives had been most active in organizing the association, only to withdraw later from active participation."[10]

Meanwhile a great impetus had been given to the effort of improving congregational singing and attaining higher levels of church choir performance. The leadership of John Dahle, Prof. T. Reimestad, and Pastor B. B. Haugan was highly significant in contributing the initial impulse toward this goal. The practice of massed choir performances continued in the Norwegian church bodies, and choral festivals served to function in the role of interpreting the great treasure of Lutheran hymns and chorales on a local and regional basis until the church union of 1917.

---

[9] The account of the Norwegian Lutheran Singers' Choral Union is from Nordvesten, August 21, 1902.

[10] J.C.K. Preus, The History of the Choral Union of the Evangelical Lutheran Church (Minneapolis, 1960), p. 34.

### Publisher of Musiktidende

John Dahle tried another publishing venture in 1895, a monthly music magazine called Musiktidende, dedicated to the principle of the improvement of church singing and church music. In addition to music news about music and musical life among the Norwegians in America, to quotes from recognized authorities in music history, literature and singing methods, to articles on the improvement of church singing and church music, and to biographical sketches of Scandinavian and German composers, Dahle added a supplement of music selections comprising keyboard, choral and solo music and featuring both secular and sacred works. Of chief interest in the light of his stated objective was the article Syngende Menigheder ("Singing Congregations"), in the January issue of the periodical. Dahle proposed the introduction of Sang Gudstjenester ("Song Services"), through which the congregation and the choir could rehearse both unison and part songs under the direction of a choir director or other competent musician. According to the plan he envisaged, the rehearsal would be divided into two parts with a talk by the pastor coming between the two. The Song Service was to be considered a special kind of church service which would encourage the whole congregation to find inspiration through the singing of the beautiful music of the church. Dahle's idea was both original and challenging and was later carried to fruition by others who realized the worth of his thinking.[11] To be critical of congregational singing in the pioneer churches was easy; to offer practical solutions to help improve the situation required imaginative thinking and courage of conviction in the expressing of practical approaches and solutions designed to improve the situation.

Dahle's second venture in publishing a music periodical proved no more successful than the first, and it was suspended after a year's time. That it played a definite part in focusing attention on and developing interest in improving church singing and music is apparent from the awakened interest in choral singing and church choir activities in the 1890's. As a people in transition, Norwegian-Americans were in need of developing cultural awareness and building a cultural life built not only on the contributions of the Old World but also on the recognition of relating this contribution to the American scene into which they were being assimilated with such rapidity. It is well to remember that the average immigrant had not enjoyed higher education in the Old World, nor had he experienced much opportunity or leisure to pursue literary or cultural pursuits there. Some may even have had a subconscious antipathy toward cultural pursuits identifying them with the official class whom they had resented in Norway; others who should have supported cultural ventures looked upon them as beneath their notice, forgetting that such pioneer attempts were necessary in order to lift the level of the average. The average home subscribed to a newspaper and perhaps a church publication; periodicals or books reflecting other cultural interests did not yet reach a wide audience. The fact that the years 1893-1898 were depression years also was a contributing factor in prohibiting the purchase of a music periodical. It would probably not have been considered a necessity in the average home.

---

[11] Such Song Services were conducted by F. Melius Christiansen and Pastor J. N. Kildahl in 1907.

### Music Teacher and Co-editor of Jubilate

As the years progressed, the church enlisted John Dahle's talents ever increasingly. Following Mrs. Stub's departure for Norway in 1896 because of illness, John Dahle was engaged as teacher of chant and hymnology and as director of the male chorus at Luther Seminary. Fire had destroyed the Seminary Building at Robbinsdale in 1894, and "the school sought temporary quarters in a hotel. A new modern school building was made ready for use in 1899 at a cost of $100,000.00. It was situated within St. Paul, at Hamline, Minnesota."[12] Here he helped train the future ministers of the church in its chants and hymns and, as Professor of Sacred Song and Hymnology, wielded a salutary influence upon them. In addition to his teaching duties, Dahle collaborated with Mr. G. B. Wollan in editing the music quarterly, Jubilate, for church choirs. The first volume, published in March 1901, was reviewed as follows in Kirketidende, XXVIII (April 5, 1901):

> Professor John Dahle, who with G. B. Wollan has begun the publication of a series of church songs, has for years been recognized among Norwegian-Americans as a lover of good music. He enjoys wide popularity among the singing societies which have benefited from using his song collection, Fram, and among those who have learned to know him as an able choir director. He has, however, made himself even more widely known in the field of church music, not only as an organist and director of church choirs but also as a composer of church songs and as the publisher of two volumes of Sangbog for Kirkekor ("Songbook for Church Choir"). Here at Luther Seminary where Prof. Dahle is now giving instruction in chant, hymn singing, and choir, we have a good opportunity to learn to appreciate his giftedness as a music instructor and his sound musical taste and judgment in both secular and sacred music, and we can confidently recommend Jubilate to our church choirs. To give the reader some information about the publisher's project and to illustrate Prof. Dahle's sound musical taste, we shall quote the following excerpt from the preface:
>
> "Choir songs used at our worship services should be of the same character and musical value as our chorales. It is this type of church choir music

---

[12] O. M. Norlie, History of the Norwegian People in America (Minneapolis, 1925), p. 276.

> which the publisher of this series of song volumes will try to provide...In the event that this undertaking receives the support of the choirs and the church people, a similar volume will be published every three months...Some of Norway's most capable church musicians have promised to contribute original compositions for these volumes,--composers such as Peter Lindeman, Chr. Cappelen, Johannes Haarklou, and others. Church choirs should have as their principal goal the practicing of the chorales in order to promote and encourage the hymn singing of the congregation."
>
> In the volume just published, containing 16 pages with eight songs in octavo format, may be found compositions by Handel (from Messiah), Spohr, P. Lindeman, as well as by Prof. Dahle himself.

The success of the first volume seemed to have been gratifying and a second volume was published as planned. A choir director, pleased with the new material available for church choirs, wrote a letter to Kirketidende, XXVIII (Sept. 18, 1901), voicing his approval of the second volume:

> I have with pleasure received a copy of Jubilate, No. 2, published by Prof. John Dahle and Mr. G. B. Wollan. Those of us interested in church choirs and church music warmly welcome this little volume. It contains eight excellent Norwegian choir selections which can be performed successfully by most of our church choirs. Among them are two beautiful choir numbers by the prominent Norwegian composer and organist Chr. Cappelen. There is also Gunnar Wennerberg's fine setting of Psalm 146. These selections alone are worth the price of the volume...The suggestions which are given in the preface to the volume regarding practicing choir songs and ways of encouraging congregational singing are to be highly recommended.

Professor H. G. Stub, of Luther Seminary, reviewed the third volume of Jubilate, published in November, 1901. The review appeared in *Kirketidende*, XXVIII (Nov. 27, 1901).

> ...We should like to give this undertaking all the support we can, for we believe it to be very praiseworthy that this work is being done to promote an appreciation and taste for really good choir music.
>
> This volume contains six choir numbers: 1) *Løfter, I Porte eders Hoveder* ("Life Up Your Heads, O Ye Gates"), by Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714-1786); 2) *Jubilate, Amen!* by Halfdan Kjerulf, (with words from the 33rd Psalm by John Dahle); 3) *Synger for Herren en ny Sang* ("Sing Unto the Lord A New Song"), by Gunnar Wennerberg... 4) *Et Barn er os født* ("A Child To Us Is Born"), by Gustav Flügel: 5) *Et lidet Barn saa lystelig* ("To Us Is Born A Blessed Child"), by Johannes Eccard (1553-1611). In the introduction to this volume Prof. Dahle has rightly commented: "Church choirs should not fail to practice Johannes Eccard's composition. He was one of the most prominent German church composers at the time of the Reformation. His church songs are highly valued...One authority calls him the father of the Prussian school of music." (Johannes Eccard and later Heinrich Schütz (1585-1672), Johann S. Bach's greatest forerunner in the field of church music in the 17th century, were constantly represented on the programs of church choir music that we heard in Leipzig a few years ago.) 6) *Lovsynger Gud, al Jorden!* ("Praise the Lord, All Ye Lands!"),is by Edward Rhode, a more recent composer. Prof. Dahle states that the first three songs are suitable for the Advent season, while the last three are Christmas songs. However, the others, especially Psalm 96 could be used during the Christmas season...
>
> Prof. Dahle also calls attention to something which is often overlooked by choirs: "Since it is important that the choir number have a corresponding relationship to the sermon and to the hymns sung at the service, it is advisable that the choir director and the organist confer with the pastor regarding the choir selection to be sung at the worship service."
>
> It is not the intention that a church choir should supersede the congregational singing. Far from it! We want a singing congregation. This is Lutheran;

> this is to be advised for a Christian congregation. But a good choir can perform an invaluable service, with the organ, to lead and support the congregational singing. At the usual worship service the congregation will sing some five hymns while the church choir will sing only one number. But the choir will also contribute powerfully toward making the five hymns really good, vigorous congregational singing....
>
> If some of the choir selections in the three volumes present demands which all choirs cannot meet (a collection like this has to take into account choirs in various stages of development), it may truthfully be said that most selections, even, for example, the one by Eccard in this last volume are so simple that every choir with some practice should be able to sing them.

The volumes continued to be published on a quarterly basis and received an encouraging response from the church choirs. Dahle's comments in the introductions to the volumes, his helpful suggestions to choir directors, and organists, and his relaying of information about the composers were beneficial and stimulating. Three volumes, each including eight numbers were published in 1902. Number four was a special issue of choir songs for Lent and Easter by well-known German composers.[13] Number five (May 1902), included John Dahle's composition Fremmed, forladt og arm ("A Stranger, Poor and Forsaken"), composed for and performed at the dedication of Luther Hospital in February, 1902, and also sung at the concert held during the Synod Church meeting in Minneapolis in 1902. Pastor O. H. Smeby, who reviewed this volume in Kirketidende, XXIX (July 2,

---

[13] Kirketidende, XXIX (March 19, 1902).

1902), commented that Jubilate "had built the church choir we rejoice in" at his pastorate, in Albert Lea, Minnesota. John Dahle's preface to this volume reminded church choirs that their primary function was not to entertain the congregation but to serve as "an integral part of the worship service itself." Dahle deplored the use of American anthems which were in dance rhythms and featured solos of a sickly sentimental nature designed to please the listener. Among the composers in Volume Number Six, issued in September, 1902, were E. Rhode, C. H. Rinck, G. Wennerberg, and J. G. Hertzog, The reviewer of this volume informed the choirs that Allgemeine Evangelisk Kirchen Zeitung had recently called Herzog "a master in the field of organ performance, liturgy, and composition..."[14]

In the summer of 1903 the Norwegian Synod celebrated its 50th anniversary. Pastor U. V. Koren had sometime earlier written John Dahle suggesting that he publish some rhythmic chorales in Jubilate so that the congregational choirs who would participate in the festival chorus, planned for the Anniversary celebration, would have time to learn them. Dahle co-operated first by writing an article as a preface to Jubilate, No. 8 (March, 1903), in which he reviewed Joh. Behrens' viewpoint regarding the rhythmic chorale. Behrens favored the rhythmic chorale of Reformation times with its irregular rhythm patterns and was opposed to Lindeman's revision of the chorales with their isorhythmic character. Jubilate, No. 9, was the festival number, including songs and chorales for the Norwegian Synod's Fifty Year Jubilee Anniversary. In addition to the four mixed chorus numbers, four male chorus selections and some rhythmic chorales were included.

---

[14] Kirketidende, XXIX (Oct. 1, 1902).

Only the first of the Jubilate volumes was published in St. Paul. The others were issued by Dahle and Wollan through the Jubilate Publishing Company at Glenwood, Minnesota. The last notice which the writer has seen regarding publication dates of the separate volumes was that of the forthcoming Number Twelve, March 24, 1904. Up to this time sixty-eight selections and some chorales had been issued. Eventually all of the volumes were published in a single book called Jubilate, by the Lutheran Publishing House in Decorah, Iowa. The bound volume included 119 selections, which leads to the assumption that the single volumes were published up to 1906. Of these only seven songs had English translations and only three had English texts. Only the music was contained in the bound volume. This is regrettable since Dahle's pithy comments and instructional suggestions gave a clear insight into the current status of church choir development in his day.

Through Jubilate Dahle reached congregations all over the country and through his selection of materials of varied levels of difficulty, he provided exemplary songs for beginning choirs as well as for those with more experience. The seven

Wennerberg numbers which were settings of the Psalms had organ accompaniment. These were written for solo recitative and chorus and were Handelian in style. Chr. Cappelen supplied full organ accompaniment for "Blessed Are the Pure in Heart," which he wrote especially for this collection. Other numbers withorgan or piano accompaniment included J. S. Bach's *Hellig* ("Holy"); J. Haarklou's "Hark, the Herald Angels Sing"; John West's fugue, "Lord, I Call Upon Thee"; Dr. W. Volkman's concertato style selection "Glory Be to God in the Highest" for solo quartet and choir; and Handel's *Zions Datter, Jesu Brud* ("Zions Daughter, Bride of Christ"), for Ladies' trio, duet and choir. Most of the selections were simple four part homophonic arrangements to be sung *a cappella* or with the organ doubling the voice parts. That Dahle's work in providing adequate materials was appreciated by his contemporaries is apparent from comments such as the following:

> Of choir song collections which I know there is none which even approximately offers so rich and thoroughly outstanding a supply of church choir songs as *Jubilate*.
>
> -Prof. D. G. Ristad in *Kirketidende*,
> Nov. 1908.
>
> *Jubilate* contains without doubt the best collection which has been made accessible to Norwegian-American choirs.
>
> -*Minneapolis Tidende*, May 17, 1908.

In January, 1929, Augsburg Publishing House published a 36-page book *Jubilate Anthems*, a collection containing the best of John Dahle's compositions as well as of anthems which he had edited. The introduction to this volume stated:

> It has long been a matter of regret to choir directors who are acquainted with the wealth of material contained in Professor Dahle's collections of choir music, notably his _Sangbog for Kirkekor_ and _Jubilate_, that they can no longer make use of it, because practically all of the texts are in the Norwegian language. For this reason, the Board of Publications has decided to publish at least a small selection of this material with English texts, including, in particular, a number of Professor Dahle's best known compositions...Through his publications, beginning with _Sangbog for Kirkekor_ as far back as in 1884, at a time when, literally speaking, there was no other material available, and when there were almost no standards as to what constituted good church music, he has not only supplied the struggling choirs with music of far greater excellence than might have been expected at that time, but he has been a leading factor in bringing order out of chaos and in ushering in a new era of progress in our church music.

## Founder of the Choral Union of the Norwegian Synod

Prof. John Dahle was invited to direct the massed chorus festival held in connection with the fiftieth Jubilee Anniversary of the Norwegian Synod, at Decorah, Iowa, in 1903. "It was at this convention in Decorah that the Choral Union of the Norwegian Synod was organized. Prof. Dahle has become known as its founder. Naturally, he was elected its first director-in chief."[15] According to the Constitution adopted, the object of the association was "to foster and promote good song and music, especially good church music." The association was divided into four districts of the Synod. Each district had its own executive committee.

---

[15] Preus, p. 9.

The plan was to hold choral festivals in conjunction with the district meetings of the church and a large Choral Union Festival in connection with the Regular General Convention of the Synod held every three years. The following were elected to the head executive committee: president, Pastor J. W. Preus, Minneapolis; vice president, Mr. B. A. Johnson, Decorah, Iowa; secretary, Mr. Nils Fosen, Elbow Lake; treasurer, Pastor J. O. Dreng, Elbow Lake.[16]

The Choral Union Convention drew an ever increasing number of participants. About 500 singers took part in the first such festival in Minneapolis in 1905. In Chicago in 1908 nearly 800 singers participated, and the festival held in St. Paul in 1911 numbered 1200 singers. Prof. John Dahle was director-in-chief at each of these Choral Union Conventions. As Pastor Preus observed, "The significance of these efforts was in the enthusiasm they spread throughout the church for Choral singing and for better choir music at home."[17]

Prof. Dahle was often called upon to direct festivals held by various regional choral unions. One such meeting was that of the Walsh County Singers' Association held at Grafton, North Dakota, in 1903. The various choruses met in rehearsal on July 7 and 8 in preparation for the concert to be given on

---

16 Preus, p. 9.

17 Preus, p. 10.

July 9. Nordvesten July 16, 1903 stated:

> The program consisted of combined chorus numbers, songs by the individual choruses, a few speeches and shorter talks...Prof. J. N. Kildahl gave an impressive speech about singing. The choir director also gave a talk on the same subject...The members of this singers' association work with interest and energy. It requires their time, their work, their outlay of money; the singers often drive 25-30 miles or more to take part in a meeting. It is not so easy for some to get to the chorus rehearsals which must be held beforehand. But the Singers' Association in Walsh County intends to continue its course. It has already made advance preparations to hold a fourth meeting next summer. ...The association has set itself an excellent task and its work will be of great significance since it is trying to cultivate and promote good singing, particularly good church music.

Five thousand people attended the Choral Union Concert held at the St. Paul Auditorium in 1911, according to an account in the St. Paul Dispatch (June 26, 1911), which commented about the performance as follows:

> ...Applauding vigorously the opening numbers, the audience grew more enthusiastic as the concert progressed, and when Handel's "Hallelujah Chorus" and Luther's Battle Hymn, "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God," brought the program to a close, the audience, instead of rushing out, remained in their seats for several minutes applauding, as director Dahle bowed again and again...Some 1200 mixed voices composed the chorus which gave most of the numbers on the program. They have rehearsed together the last three or four days under the direction of Professor Dahle, but the chorus as a whole is made up of smaller organizations recruited from all parts of the country. Under the circumstances it is impossible that a very smooth ensemble should be achieved or that the parts of the chorus should be perfectly balanced, but the tone quality was noticeably good and the sopranos are entitled to special mention for their share of the work. The character of the music itself was very interesting and, as is usual with Scandinavian singing, possessed of a dignified and

> serious nature. Two hymns, *Her vil ties* and *Hvad er det godt at lande* are adaptations of traditional folk tunes. One of the pronounced successes of the evening was *Herren er min hyrde*, Professor Dahle's own setting of the 23rd Psalm. It is melodious and cleverly harmonized, suggesting German rather than the typical Scandinavian school of composition. Two choral works by Wennerberg, the eminent Swedish composer, were also well given. Accompaniments to all except a few "a cappella" numbers were played by the Luther College Concert Band, of Decorah, Iowa, which, by itself, gave two overtures...For a band that does not pose as professional it is a very creditable organization. The chief soloist of the evening was Mme. Norelli, the Swedish prima donna, lately with the Metropolitan and Stockholm Royal Opera. Adolph Olson, director of music at St. Olaf College, Northfield, gave three violin solos, Svendsen's "Romance," *Saeterjentens Søndag*, by Ole Bull, and *Kjølsta visa*, by F. Melius Christiansen, the latter acting as accompanist, as Eivind Alnaes did for Mme. Norelli.

John Dahle's efforts as an interpreter of the music of the cold North, sacred and secular, was recognized "when, in 1911, the Singers' Association of the University of Norway made him a knight of their order..."[18] It was a signal honor. The medal was presented at the Norwegian Synod Choral Union Concert in St. Paul. The representative of the Singers' Association who presented the medal was so enthusiastic that he said, "If such a concert as this had taken place in Oslo you would have received the order of St. Olaf."[19] This occasion marked a high point in John Dahle's musical career.

---

[18] Luther Theological Seminary Catalog, 1931-1932.

[19] J. J. Skørdalsvold, "John Dahle," in *Valdreser i Amerika*, p. 99.

# VII

# A WIDER SPHERE OF INFLUENCE

The problem of congregational participation in the liturgy and hymns of the Church was one which persistently occupied John Dahle's attention. Not only through his work as a teacher of hymnology at Luther Seminary but also through his work in literary pursuits, he tried constantly to inspire the ideal of a "singing church." "For years he was the musical leader over all the Church," wrote Laurence N. Field regarding Dahle's contribution to the musical development of the Norwegian Synod Church.[1]

## Hymnologist

Five articles by John Dahle entitled *How Our Hymns Ought To Be Sung* appeared in the late March through June issues of *Kirketidende*, 1906. In these articles he not only voiced his criticism of poor congregational singing of the hymns and liturgy of the Church but also offered constructive suggestions for their improvement. He concluded that a part of the difficulty lay in the transitional character of the Church itself. Another contributing factor was the lack of a Norwegian-English hymnal with music, "similar to the English hymnals being used by American denominations." Realizing that the preparation of a new hymnal with music would take years, Dahle, through a comparison of chorale materials in the three most widely used chorale books, namely, Rhytmisk Koralbog, Christian Hymns, and Lindeman's Koralbog made practical suggestions regarding the worth of the available materials and the methods necessary to achieving their satisfactory performance.

---

[1] Laurence N. Field, "Our Heritage of Music," in *Norsemen Found A Church*, ed. J. C. K. Preus (Minneapolis, 1953), p. 386.

Of paramount importance for the development of congregational singing, was the necessity of understanding the thought and mood of a chorale or hymn and then expressing its musical essence by means of correct tempo, rhythm, stress, phrasing, and dynamics. Dahle was sharply critical of the loud raucous tone which many, including the pastors, used and suggested that improved tone could only be achieved by bringing "mellowness, fervour, and warmth into the singing" and by trying to achieve a more aesthetic approach to mood and expression.

The chorale melodies in the chorale books under consideration represented two different rhythmic styles. The rhythmic chorales found in Rhytmisk Koralbog and Christian Hymns were in the old rhythmic form dating back to Roman and German origins and were characterized by their rhythmic freedom. John Dahle had included this type of chorale in his issue of Jubilate No. Nine and had conducted the massed festival choir which had sung them at the Synod's Jubilee in 1903. He had come to a deep awareness of their beauty,--of their lively, vigorous melodies and variety of accents. "How much most of these hymns gain by singing them as rhythmic chorales!" he commented. "The characteristic change of beat in the melodies of the rhythmic chorale gives it an individuality which is completely lacking in the usual quarter beat form." He took the editors of Rhytmisk Koralbog to task for altering the melody and rhythm in some of these older hymns and for including far too many trite harmonizations by the Danish organist, Thomas Laub, and reminded them that "we have other just as prominent church musicians who understand full well the art of harmonization in the spirit of the old masters." Laub, he further explained, belonged to a school which considered modern harmonizations of the old chorales unchurchly. Rhytmisk Koralbog also contained a list of "hymns with the same meter whose melodies (could) be interchanged." Dahle pointed out that certain tunes were associated with certain hymns and that such associations must be retained.

Dahle felt that "the attempt to combine the old rhythmic form with Lindeman's harmonizations (had not) always (been) successful" in the settings of the chorales in Christian Hymns, but he commended the Synod's efforts to re-introduce the rhythmic chorale "as a step in the right direction," for it marked a return "to the genuine, original Lutheran chorale as it sounded at the time of the Reformation."

The third chorale book evaluated by Dahle was Lindeman's Koralbog, published in Norway in 1871-1872 as the authorized chorale book for Landstad's hymnbook. Lindeman had modernized the hymn tunes and introduced many new and fresh melodies, some original and some based on the Norwegian religious folk music.

The revised rhythm in Koralbog gave many of the old melodies a new and strange quality much at variance with the original. Rhythmic freedom was lost in the isorhythmic Lindeman settings. Dahle commented that this rhythm had a monotonous quality. The characteristic dotted notes were, he thought, often used indiscriminately. For American congregations who had to learn these melodies "by ear" the dotted rhythm proved hazardous, since the dotted values were either sung incorrectly, ignored completely, or added to the wrong notes. It was easier for congregations to learn to sing dotted rhythms in Norway, "where note reading (was) learned in the parish schools." In some cases the dotted notes did enliven and beautify the melody, "but as a rule they (were) not a satisfactory substitute for the old rhythmic form." However, there was a curious ambivalence in his reactions, for he regarded Lindeman as a great master. He took exception, for example, to the fact that Rhytmisk Koralbog had used Thomas Laub's setting of Lindeman's "Built on a Rock the Church Doth Stand" and had excluded Lindeman's because he had harmonized the Dorian melody in modern style. He felt that Lindeman's should have been included as a mark of respect. He further urged the adoption of more of the newer melodies. These should not be rejected and "least of all the beautiful and cherished melodies which Ludvig Lindeman (had) given the Norwegian Church, and which, therefore, belonged to us in a special sense." By modernizing the hymn tunes and introducing new melodies, Lindeman had given the Norwegian church a *Koralbog* which had beautiful melodies, interesting harmonies, and a revised rhythmic structure. His own hymn tunes were, on the whole, characterized by a deeply religious quality and seriousness and were significantly national in character.

Dahle emphasized the importance of congregational participation in the liturgy. The responses, with the exception of the *Kyrie*, were to be sung in parts by the choir, but it could not be "too strongly emphasized that the whole congregation participate in the responses." He suggested that Ludvig Lindeman's simple and churchly setting of the *Kyrie* be used in preference to the very modern harmonization used by P. Lindeman in "Music for the New Morning Service Liturgy," introduced in *Rhytmisk Koralbog*. The choir's singing of a special number was also to be regarded as a part of the liturgy and a fixed place for this should be determined in the liturgy. The choir's function was not to entertain but to edify. According to old Lutheran custom the choir should sing after the epistle or the lesson, not during the offertory nor after the sermon. Dahle recommended that the Church authorize the publishing of a collection of church choir music containing selections for every Sunday and festival throughout the Church Year, so that the worship service might have a related, harmonious entity.[2]

Not only was there a need for an English hymnal but also for an English setting of the liturgy. In 1906 John Dahle published the Music for the Morning Service with Norwegian and English texts, the latter by E. C. Lund in the Orders of Service, 1902. The liturgy was the liturgy of 1889. On the whcle, the harmonization was in keeping with the spirit of the text. However, the frequent chord changes which underlined it tended to disturb the smooth flow of the chant and the propensity for cadential seventh chords tended to minimize its objective character. Also included in the book were settings of the ancient festival collects of the early Church.

In the resolutions drawn up by the Synod at its district meeting, held at Calmar, Iowa, May 24, 1906, a special commendation was given to Prof. Dahle for his efforts in behalf of church singing:

> The Synod expresses its appreciation of the interested and expert work which Prof. Dahle has done at our Seminary and for our denomination as a whole in furthering the advancement of church singing and hopes that his health will permit him to continue to serve our denomination for a long time.[3]

---

[2] See the Appendix for a translation of these articles.

[3] Kirketidende, XXI (June 6, 1906).

In 1908 the Norwegian Synod, the United Church, and Hauge's Synod elected a joint committee to collect and edit material for an English Lutheran hymn book:

> The considerations which prompted creation of the joint committee were, chiefly, the common need of an adequate and satisfactory English hymn book; the fact of a common faith and confession as well as a common inheritance of Lutheran hymnody; the probability of getting a better hymn book through united endeavor than by separate effort; and, finally, the desirability of a common hymnal especially in the event of a union of the church bodies concerned.[4]

Among the members of the committee elected by the Norwegian Synod during the four years the Hymnary was in preparation was John Dahle.

A brief analysis of the organization and content of Lutheran Hymnary reveals the effort made by the committee to preserve the liturgical and hymn heritage of the Lutheran Church through translations of Scandinavian materials so that the hymns of Kingo, Grundtvig, Brorson, Landstad, and others might be transmitted to the Norwegian-American congregations and might also "prove attractive to the English bodies of the Church of the Reformation and eventually find a place in their hearts and hymnals." The Hymnary included a large number of Lutheran chorales. The interest which Pastor U. V. Koren of the Norwegian Synod had shown in the re-introducing of the rhythmic form of the chorale and which John Dahle had, at his request, included among the chorales sung at the Synod Choral Union Festivals, is reflected in the Committee's decision to include some chorales in the older rhythmic form. Twenty German Chorales were arranged in rhythmical meter and twenty were arranged in a "melodic or contrapuntal setting" in order to discover "the wish of the Church" regarding these styles. The principle of retaining the melody associated with a hymn was, in general, followed unless such a melody lacked "churchliness and appropriateness for congregational singing, "in which case the hymn was set to a Lutheran Chorale melody.[5] The selection of hymn materials was drawn from three sources as follows: Pre-Reformation and Catholic, seven percent; Lutheran, forty percent; Reformed, fifty-three percent. In the large percentage of the latter may be seen a reflection of the impact of English evangelical hymnody, which had originated with Isaac Watts and had been implemented by the influential work of John and Charles Wesley. A few American hymns were also included.

---

[4] Preface to Lutheran Hymnary (Minneapolis, 1913), p. 3.

The problem of good English translations was a real one, and the original beauty, power, and strength of many hymns suffered by comparison in the attempt to translate original meanings into English. Through the hymnological research of Pastor Carl Døving, who was a member of the hymnal committee during the last year of the hymnal's preparation, some excellent translations of well known German hymns by Miss Catherine Winkworth

---

5 Preface, Lutheran Hymnary, pp. 3-4.

and of Greek and Latin hymns by John Neale were secured. These two English hymnologists proved a valuable resource to the editors of Lutheran Hymnary. They were not always so fortunate in finding good translators elsewhere. The choice of hymn materials was largely traditional. Few American hymn writers and no current American hymn writers were included. John Dahle contributed five hymn tunes. Two of these were retained in the Service Book and Hymnal of the Lutheran Church in America (1958).[6] On the whole the melodies are pleasant but not particularly inventive nor individual. Lutheran Hymnary also made available in English the Sunday Collects used by Lutheran Church bodies all over the world.

Most of these were a heritage from the early Church. The music for the responses of the congregation in the liturgical service was set harmonically so that the organ could accompany the responsorial singing. Dr. Field in evaluating the Hymnary observed:

> Together with F. Melius Christiansen, John Dahle did much of the musical heavy work for the Lutheran Hymnary and much of its other work too...As a "transition" hymnbook it has done much to maintain high standards and bridge the gap between Norwegian and English and to preserve for posterity the heritage of our fathers.[7]

---

[6] Numbers 38, 143, 216, 358, and 361 in Lutheran Hymnary. (The melody for Number 361 is set to a different hymn and is number 287 in the 1958 hymnal.) (Number 38 in Lutheran Hymnary is number 185 in the 1958 hymnal.)

[7] Laurence N. Field, "Our Heritage of Music," in Norsemen Found A Church (Minneapolis, 1953), p. 384.

## Director of the Singing Society "Fram," St. Paul

John Dahle's account of the Singing Society *Fram*, included among his published articles on *Musicians and Musical Life among the Norwegians in America*, in *Nordvesten* gave an excellent summary of this society's origin, principles, and programs. It also provided insight into some of the Norwegian-American social activities such as May 17 festivals to commemorate Norway's Constitution Day, the Valdres people's annual reunions, the society's evening entertainments, concerts, and banquets, the singing festivals sponsored by Norwegian male choruses, the church concerts, and other church sponsored functions. All of these activities represented an attempt by the immigrants to establish associations of shared community experiences similar to those they had known in Norway. The society's principles regarding social dancing reflected the attitude of the immigrant Norwegian Lutheran Church. Marcus Hansen related this attitude with the Puritan influence which had crept into all the social activities of the immigrant community as a defense against a too rapid Americanization of its children.[8]

That John Dahle took great pride in *Fram* was apparent. Not only did he direct the group for nearly ten years, but he also assisted its activities by giving speeches at its May 17 festivals, banquets and evening entertainments, and by promoting a feeling of esprit d' corps among its members.[9] Dahle's article on the Society follows:

---

[8] Marcus L. Hansen, "Immigration and Puritanism," in *Norwegian-American Studies and Records*, IX (Northfield, 1936), 1-28.

> A Singing Society named Fram was organized as early as the spring of 1897. Some of the finest Norwegian male singers belonged to the Society, and it was not long before it was recognized for its beautiful singing. In the fall of the same year Fridtjof Nansen was to come to the Twin Cities to give a speech. The Norwegians in St. Paul decided to arrange a celebration honoring their famous countryman. That there should be good Norwegian music at such a celebration goes without saying, and the Society Fram formed the nucleus for a larger chorus which performed Landkjending and a few Norwegian national songs ...In the fall of 1898 Fram stopped having its rehearsals because many of its members had moved away from the city.
>
> The present Singing Society of the same name was organized early in July 1899. Many of its members have belonged to the first Fram and both Societies have had the same director, but otherwise the new Society in many respects is much different from the first. Since the Singing Society Fram must be regarded as one of the finest and most popular of its kind in the Northwest, it might be of interest to state the principles which the Society decided to follow at its first meeting. These were some of the principles unanimously adopted by the group: that the Society should meet at least once a week to sing, and emphasis was placed on singing and not visiting; as far as possible, business meetings were to be avoided and special committees were to be empowered to take care of the usual business details on behalf of the Society; the Society would not sponsor dancing parties in connection with its entertainments or concerts and would refrain from arranging public amusements of this kind for any purpose whatsoever; the sale of intoxicating liquor should never be allowed at the Society's meetings, nor should any such be used in the Society's rehearsal room; the main emphasis at public programs should be placed on performing good

---

[9] See Appendix for a translation of one of John Dahle's May 17 speeches. (From the John Dahle Papers, Luther Theological Seminary, n.d.)

music, regardless of whether there should be any profit involved.

Fram has always been true to these principles. It is, therefore, a highly respected Society, and when in addition it is also an exceptionally able men's chorus which people enjoy hearing, it is no wonder that the group is popular. The members' genuine interest in singing and their remarkable mutual relationship contribute powerfully to the Society's progress and vigorous growth; and, as a rule, the meetings are pleasant and well attended.

The Society was organized in the Synod Church School Building, where through the courtesy of the congregation it has held its meetings. After having assisted at various church functions, the Society presented its first evening's entertainment in Central Hall, 6th and 7th Streets, January 1900. It was a bitterly cold and stormy evening; but in spite of the weather, a large number of people attended and the event was a complete success...The Society received invitations to sing at three different May 17 festivals the same year, but could not manage to appear at more than two of them. Fram also arranged a joint concert with the Luther Seminary Men's Chorus. This concert, which was given the last of May in Mozart Hall, was the musical highlight of the season among the city's Norwegian population... The Society rehearsed zealously for the singing festival held in July of the same year. Fram appeared twice during the festival,--at People's Church, with Carl A. Erickson (von Godeen) as soloist, they sang Du gamla, du friska, and at the Auditorium they performed Sigurd Lie's difficult work, Per Spillemand. Both performances were enthusiastically received.

During the winter evenings of 1900 and 1901 the Society gave several concerts and evening entertainments, among which was a benefit concert for its director. In the spring of 1901 Fram arranged a May 17 festival for the benefit of the Norwegian hospital. Those assisting on this occasion were Mrs. Joh. Lohrbauer, Mme. Locke-Valisi, Miss Signe Dahle, and Olaf Hals. The festival, which was the most successful one in the city's history, showed a profit of $171.32. The Society continued its regular practice sessions throughout the entire summer, assisted at various entertainments and arranged a picnic meeting at Lake Phelan. Other occasions on which the Society sang were the Valdris festival held in September 1901, the Synod Church's yearly concert in November 1901, and the dedication service for Luther Hospital, February 23, 1902.

March 8, 1902, was a red letter day in the Society's history. Until this time Fram had had no inactive members. The members invited a number of their friends to a dinner at the Merchants Hotel on the evening of March 8... On this occasion 26 gentlemen were enrolled as inactive members. The Society also arranged a May 17 festival in 1902. Assisting at the program were Mme. Locke-Valisi, Signe Dahle, C. A. Von Godeen, and Danz's orchestra. Prof. E. Hove was the festival speaker. This festival had a special significance for Fram because a beautiful new banner, donated by many of the city's Norwegian women and painted by Miss Helga Bøckman was presented to the Society by the artist's sister, Miss Caroline Bøckmann. On May 28, Fram assisted at a church concert held in connection with the Synod Church meeting in Minneapolis. Following this, the Society worked energetically on its songs for the Singing Festival to be held at Sioux Falls in July. Its tasteful performance of Valdrisvisen added to its reputation as an able men's chorus...The Society sang again at the Valdris festival on August 31 and at the Synod Church Concert October 23.

Fram has from time to time presented informal evening entertainments which have gradually become very popular. The last of these took place November 7 at Central Hall before a packed house. Fram has assisted all Norwegian Lutheran congregations in St. Paul, some of them several times, and has also appeared before Danish and Swedish congregations. It has also assisted at many other societies' entertainments both in St. Paul and Minneapolis. In October Fram decided to become a member of the Norwegian Music League. (Dr. J. S. Johnson directed the society during the

> director's trip to Norway in the fall of 1900.)[10]

Dahle's speech given at Fram's Third Evening Entertainment Program enlarged on the difficulties to be overcome in trying to foster good male choruses in America. Relative to the purpose of maintaining such singing societies as Fram he stated:

> Fram's interpretation of our magnificent Norwegian songs suffers indeed from many faults, and no one recognizes this better than the Society itself. In spite of this, we dare say that these songs,--these musical gems, the beautiful treasure of our native heritage, have at times been interpreted by this society in such a way as to touch the heart strings fondly,--to bring a moist sheen to this or that person's eye and to fill the listener's mind with pure pleasure. At such moments, a small, modest singing society is a power among us, demonstrates that it has a purpose, and vindicates its right to exist. Such a singing society serves in the interest of true culture, of the beautiful, and of the good. This is doubly significant in a cold, materialistic age in which man is so inclined to disregard and to "turn up his nose" at all talk about spiritual uplift, about higher interests,--in which men ridicule a person for speaking of ideals, spiritual life, heritage, and the like.
>
> We, who on various occasions have had the opportunity to see and hear how an inspiring national song has filled minds and hearts with a common emotion, how it, as the poet says has "loosed inspiration's streaming banners," how it has lifted listeners to a higher plane from which they could look with a larger, truer and more sympathetic outlook at life and people and from which they could meet in common understanding with smiles and handshakes as if all social barriers had seemingly been torn down and they had become members of humanity's great family with common feelings, common

---

[10] John Dahle, "The Singing Society Fram, St. Paul," in Nordvesten, December 4, 1902, p. 4.

> interests, and common language,--we who have had the opportunity to experience something of this will surely give due credit to these higher values which have given rich, beautiful memories and which have brought a glimmer of pure joy into our lives.[11]

Nordvesten, February 6, 1902, reported that a large and fashionable audience completely filled Vasa Hall to hear the third annual evening entertainment program. "Many had to stand to hear the concert." In addition to the Society's program numbers, "the locally well-known artists, Wolf and Barret, presented piano, violin, and viola selections and provided much enjoyment for the listeners. At half past nine the audience was invited to partake of refreshments served by the wives of the members of the society. After lunch the musical program was continued with songs by the society, solos by Mr. C. A. Boyd, who demonstrated great skill in a clarinet solo, piano and violin selections by Wolf and Barret, and a group of songs by the Society."

John Dahle's philosophy in regard to music was in the tradition of Luther, who in the preface to Geystliche Gesangk Buchleyn (1524) says, "I would gladly see all arts, especially music, in the service of Him who has given and created them." Whether Dahle worked with secular or sacred music, with male choruses or church choirs, he felt that music was a gift of

---

[11] See Appendix for the translation of the entire speech by John Dahle at Fram's Third Evening Entertainment Program. The speech is published in Nordvesten, February 6, 1902, p. 4.

God, and as such should glorify its Creator. Fram's role as a community service organization offering fine performances of the best Norwegian music for the edification of the performers and the listeners reflected Dahle's attitude toward music.

Prof. H. G. Stub of Luther Seminary was the principal speaker at Fram's banquet Dec. 8, 1902. His theme centered on Fram's high ideals both as expressed in their musical goals, and in their principles as an organization, and he commented that gatherings such as the one he was attending should be a reflection of the intellectual life within the group itself. He warned that ideals were threatened by two current enemies,--materialism and positivism and that the literature of the day was steeped in these two philosophies. It seemed a co-incidence to him that Bjørnson's seventieth birthday should happen to be on this very day. He then proceeded to differentiate between the earlier Bjørnson whose literature championed the religious and idealistic and the later Bjørnson whose literature denied the Christian tenets. The speech gave an interesting glimpse of the reaction felt by the Church in regard to Bjørnson's apostasy.[12]

Fram's Benefit Concert for Scandinavian Relief presented at People's Church, April 23, 1903, received complimentary notice in Pioneer Press. The reviewer commented:

---

[12] Prof. Stub's speech was published in Nordvesten, Dec. 11, 1902. For a discussion of the Bjørnson controversy see Arthur C. Paulson, "Bjørnson and the Norwegian-Americans, 1880-81," in Norwegian-American Studies and Records, V (Northfield, Minnesota, 1930), 84-109.

> The solo numbers were remarkable and Fram's men's chorus performed, as usual, fine selections in an excellent manner. Carlo Fischer, the cellist, played "To the Evening Star" from Tannhauser, with orchestra accompaniment, a striking contrast number, "Scherzo" by Van Goens, and as an encore Godard's well-known "Berceuse." Mr. Fischer was also encored after his last set of numbers, Chopin's "Nocturne" and the very characteristic Grieg "Spring dans." Miss Clara Williams sang "With Verdure Clad" from the "Creation" and Grieg's "Solveig's Song." P. H. P. Rydning admirably performed his "Norwegian Melodies" on the excellent organ so that the music sounded at times like the distant, muted singing of birds, --at times like the powerful sound of gushing waters. H. E. Phillips, the men's choruses and orchestra performed Sigurd Jorsalfer by Grieg,--a very dramatic number. The opening selection was played by Danz's orchestra and was followed by the men's chorus who sang "America" with organ accompaniment and Lindblad's Naturen och hjertet. Svendsen's "Rhapsodie" was a magnificent orchestra number. The last number on this exceptionally high class program, Grieg's Landkjending, performed by H. E. Phillips, the chorus, and orchestra, brought this thoroughly enjoyable evening for all sincere music lovers to a triumphant close.

## The Norwegian Music League

Another project close to the heart of John Dahle was the organization of the Norwegian Music League. The Twin Cities' Norwegian musicians met August 21, 1902, to organize this League whose aim was "to awaken and develop the taste for good music in general and for good Scandinavian music in particular." To promote this aim, the organization planned to present concerts in St. Paul, Minneapolis, and in other cities. At these concerts mainly Scandinavian music literature comprising orchestral and choir works, instrumental and vocal solos was to be performed. The following men were selected as officers: President, John Dahle, St. Paul; Vice President, Henrich Gunnersen, Minneapolis; Secretary, Olaf Hals, Minneapolis; Corresponding Secretary, Arthur Bergh, St. Paul; Program Committee, Erik Oulie, Minneapolis; P. H. P. Rydning, St. Paul; F. Melius Christiansen, Minneapolis; Arthur Bergh, St. Paul, and John Dahle, St. Paul.[13]

Prof. Stub spoke in behalf of the Norwegian Music League at a dinner meeting for Norwegian musicians and music lovers in January 1903, and urged all to support the organization either as performers or as subscribing members.[14] Two concerts were planned calling for at least four classical works, several large choir works, and two or three solos by outstanding artists, with one performance to be given in St. Paul and one in Minneapolis. In the meantime, it was learned that Olaf Paulus, Norwegian composer and organist at Stavanger Cathedral, planned to visit America in the spring of 1903. It was decided that he should be the Music League's first guest conductor and that a program featuring his works be presented. The League's first concert was presented in Plymouth Church, Minneapolis, April 24, 1903, featuring Paulus' compositions. Danz's Orchestra, the Twin Cities' combined Norwegian mixed and male choirs, the violinist Arthur

---

[13] *Nordvesten*, August 28, 1902, p. 8.

[14] *Nordvesten*, January 29, 1903, p. 5.

Bergh, and the vocalists, Jacob Hjort and Signe Dahle, participated.

The concert was not particularly satisfying either from a musical or financial point of view. Poor acoustics and inadequate space for the singers contributed in part to make the choruses ineffective. Paulus' "Mission Cantata" was sung in a slow tempo which had a tendency to affect the singers negatively. His two orchestral numbers were effective as was his Vestanveir, sung by the male choruses. Other performances were satisfying but Mr. Hjort's voice was not suited to the solos in Sigurd Jorsalfer. It seemed "quite incomprehensible that the comparatively small building was not better filled..."[15]

The League's St. Paul concert was presented in First Baptist Church on May 5, 1903. A few changes in programming were made; and, on the whole, the program was well received.

John Dahle reviewed the first of the League's second series of concerts given April 21, 1904, which he characterized as the "best musical program which has ever been given for 25¢ in this city...Of the Norwegian concerts which have been given here in the past 12-14 years, there are only two or three which can be compared with the League's concert..." He was sharply critical, however, of the lack of support given the League's efforts, and commented:

> There are those who would play the role of leaders in the area of culture, but they were nowhere to be seen. Most of St. Paul's Norwegian business men, who could benefit by

---

15 Nordvesten, April 30, 1903, p. 5.

> helping a good cause in their midst,--not to speak of the pleasure they would get from doing so--were conspicuous by their absence. We also are sorry that the Norwegian Societies have not yet learned to be alive to or have a taste for anything else than their own ordinary occupations and that they can see no good in working for anything else than that which brings money into their own "cash boxes." This also applies, in part, to the congregations...In short, it is a shame that not more of the Norwegian population in St. Paul were present at the Music League's concert Tuesday...However, what good does it do to talk about it![16]

John Dahle's dream of making "the music of the North an abiding asset in American culture" prompted his keen interest in the Norwegian Music League. However, the League failed to develop into a permanent association. Concern for practical subsistence dominated men's thinking more than purely cultural pursuits and financial backing for such enterprises was all too often ignored by the average person. The Norwegian-American was also preoccupied in making new adjustments and in searching for identity in the society of the New World with its rapid development, mobility, and constant change.

John Dahle's career as a musician was a demanding but satisfying one. It was not, however, financially productive, and he was again obliged to turn to other kinds of work to supplement his income in order to meet family needs. In addition to his teaching at Luther Seminary, where his schedule, according to a letter published in Nordvesten, Sept. 18, 1902, included directing two choruses, teaching a class in chant for the upper classmen, and Hymnology (one hour a week) for all students, he presented his groups in local concerts and made concert trips to various church communities. The letter concluded, "Music plays a large part in a pastor's work; therefore Prof. Dahle's work here is of great importance." But the monetary rewards were slight. Nor did his other musical activities as church organist and choir director, director of male choruses, editor of song materials, and composer of church music net him much profit. His ability to express himself both in speech and writing was another facet of his remarkable versatility which he used to practical advantage. When the editor of *Nordvesten* offered him a position on the editorial staff of the paper, he accepted the position and added this work to his otherwise heavy schedule of activities. In March 1902, he became associate editor of this paper.

---

[16] Nordvesten, April 21, 1904, p. 8.

### Associate Editor of *Nordvesten*

The following announcement appeared in *Nordvesten*, March 20, 1902:

> Today we have the pleasure of announcing to our readers, that we have had the good fortune to secure the services of Mr. John Dahle as associate editor of *Nordvesten*. Mr. Dahle's name is not only well known in singing and music societies among the entire body of Norwegian emigrants here in our country but it is also known among the newspaper reading public through his interesting and well-written articles which have from time to time appeared in several of the current Norwegian papers, including *Nordvesten*. We--and perhaps our readers too--have long felt

> the need of a capable co-worker, and we feel fortunate to have secured the services of such a person in Mr. Dahle, who wields not only a versatile but also a very powerful pen,--something which surely is needed in these times.

According to Wist, Nordvesten was one of the newspapers which in its time exercised a very considerable political influence in Minnesota. It was founded as early as 1881 by a joint stock company, whose president later became State Senator, Lars K. Aaker. Christian Brandt became editor in the fall of 1881 and bought the paper in 1883. He published it until 1887. At this time the newspaper enjoyed unusual prosperity and became one of the most widely circulated political newspapers in the Norwegian language in the country. In 1887, Nordvesten was bought by Nordvesten Publishing Company with J. J. Lee as business manager and Professor Svein Nilsson, editor. The following year Søren Listoe became business manager and editor. Listoe later bought the paper and F. C. Listoe joined him as business manager and assistant editor. Joh. B. Wist was assistant editor from 1889 to 1897 and in 1892-93 assumed the editorship and the responsibility of management during S. Listoe's absence as American Consul in Düsseldorf. When Søren Listoe was appointed American Consul to Rotterdam in 1897, he transferred his interest to F. C. Listoe, and Chr. Brandt again assumed the editorship and later bought a half interest in the paper which was published by Listoe and Brandt until 1907, when it was sold to T. Gulbrandsen and was incorporated with Minneapolis Tidende.

The chief reason for Nordvesten's inability to continue in business after 1907 had its origin in the political developments of the late 1880's. As an organ of the Republican Party, Nordvesten had enjoyed a large following among the Norwegian population, most of whom belonged to the Republican Party. However, in the late 1880's the Farmers' Alliance Movement began to assume an important part among the Norwegian rural population in the Northwest. Not originally politically oriented the movement eventually led to the formation of the Populist Party which published its own news organ. Nordvesten's subscription list suffered as a result:

> It was not the only newspaper affected by this movement but it was more severely affected because its field of operation lay to so large an extent exactly in the districts where the Populists had their greatest strength. This was enough "to take the wind out of the sails" of any newspaper situated as Nordvesten was. The Populist party swept everything before it in large areas of Minnesota and twice was strong enough to elect its candidates, both Norwegians, to Congress. When later, Nordvesten became less of a party organ and Populism had shed some of its first youthful vigor, it was too late for Nordvesten to recover its losses.[17]

Musicians and Musical Life among the Norwegians in America.--As associate editor of Nordvesten (1902-1905), John Dahle wrote many of the editorials for the paper and wrote many articles related to the cultural life of the Norwegian communities of the Northwest in general and of the Twin Cities in particular.

---

[17] Joh. B. Wist, "Pressen efter borgerkrigen," in Norsk-Amerikanernes festskrift, 1914 (Decorah, Iowa, 1914), pp. 96-100.

Nordvesten continued to reflect a strong Republican bias, but the editorial column more and more reflected an interest in the wider areas of economic, social, and cultural developments in the Northwest. In April, 1902, Dahle began a series of articles called Musicians and Musical Life among the Norwegians in America. In a short introduction to these articles, he called attention to the fact that the Norwegian immigrant in the Northwest had in the past been chiefly occupied with the problem of existence in a New World where land had to be cleared, homes built, and a living earned:

> But besides being industrious and hard-working the Norwegian was also serious and religious... He had organized congregations, built churches, established schools--enterprises which had put strong demands on his spiritual and economic resources--and he had preserved the sense of the beautiful in human life through music and song, poetry and literature. It was, of course, not to be expected that art and literature had flourished to any noteworthy degree among the comparatively recent rural immigrant population. As yet there were no great poets of note, only a few, comparatively young writers, and hardly a single composer who had produced anything significant. No painters or professional men had yet attained national prominence. Nevertheless the various branches of literature and art did have their more or less talented devotees among the Norwegian immigrants in the Northwest, and some of them deserved to be mentioned so that some record of their achievements might be available in the future when the history of their music, art, and literature in their western home would be written.[18]

The articles which followed presented biographical sketches of Norwegian performing artists and composers and data regarding the origin of Norwegian musical organizations. Dahle's efforts represented the first such attempt to record and preserve such information.[19] Most of these performing artists had had excellent training in European Conservatories and had done concert work abroad. Their contributions to cultural development on the American scene was considerable both as performers and as teachers. Dahle felt that "through their thorough and solid instruction they had helped to remove some of the artificiality, the shoddy tinsel, and pursuit of effect which was a somewhat conspicuous trait in the musical life of the Western world." He thought there were "encouraging signs that a more genuine art was beginning to gain ground throughout the American Northwest" and was pleased with the part that Norwegian performers and teachers had played "in this elevating and cultural promotion."[20] His perceptiveness of this trend has been summed up by Oscar Handlin:

---

[18] Nordvesten, April 3, 1902, p. 4.

> Indeed it was the immigrant who proved most capable of resisting the later efforts to cram American culture into an artificially defined strait jacket. In the half century after 1870,

---

[19] Later publications which deal with Norwegian-American musicians and musical life are Carl Hansen's "Norsk Musik i Amerika," in Det Norske Selskabs Yearbook (Fall, 1903). The same article is also published in Martin Ulvestad, Nordmaendene i Amerika I, pp. 456-464. Also see Carl Hansen, "Northern Music in America, II" in American Scandinavian Review, Vol. IV (1916), 38-44; and Carl Hansen, "Det Norske foreningsliv i Amerika," in Johs. B. Wist, Norsk-Amerikanernes festskrift 1914 (Decorah, Iowa, 1914), pp. 266-291.

[20] Nordvesten, April 24, 1902.

> the development of American society produced forces that sought to impose an official orderly pattern upon the chaos of folk culture, to define what was good music, good art, good literature and to exclude from the canons of good taste that which did not seem fit. The stultifying effect, referred to at the time as the genteel tradition, was damaging both to the audiences for, and the creators of art.[21]

Of the vocalists reviewed three of the five were born in Norway and received their musical training on the continent, since Norway lacked schools for musical training. Valborg Hovind Stub had studied in Dresden and Leipzig. Liszt had invited her to perform at an evening musicale in Leipzig and had himself accompanied some of her songs. She came to America in 1884 and married Prof. H. G. Stub of the Theological Seminary in Madison. She taught voice at the Music Conservatory there for several years. In 1889 she went to Paris and studied with the celebrated Madame Marchesi for eight months. Upon her return to America, she taught voice in Minneapolis and had a large number of voice students. Songs of the North, which she edited and published in 1895, won recognition as the best collection of Scandinavian vocal music which had ever been published. It included songs by Grieg, Kjerulf, Svendsen, Agathe Grøndahl, Waldemar Thrane, Sinding, Ole Bull, Selmer, and some Danish and Swedish composers. The English translations added to their popularity among the Norwegian-Americans. She had planned to publish two more volumes, but ill health prevented the completion of the project. Mrs. Anna Smith-Behrens, a coloratura soprano, had graduated from Gøtze's Opera School in Dresden. Following her debut she made concert tours to Russia and Finland, sang operatic roles in Germany, and appeared as soloist at the Gewandhaus Concerts. She continued her studies with Madame Marchesi in Paris after which she made two more concert tours in Europe before coming to America in 1888. She married Dr. Behrens of Chicago and made her American debut in that city. The following year she sang in New York with the famous Thomas orchestra and at music festivals in Worcester, Mass., New York, and Brooklyn. When Dr. Behrens later established a practice in Minneapolis, she opened a voice studio there and was recognized as the best vocal instructor in the Northwest.

---

[21] Oscar Handlin, "Immigration in American Life: a Reappraisal," in Immigration and American History, Essays in Honor of Theodore C. Blegen, ed. Henry Steele Commager (Minneapolis, 1961), pp. 22-23.

Ragna Linne also had studied with Madame Marchesi in Paris. She made her debut in Christiania and since had appeared in concert and opera in the Scandinavian countries, England and Germany, France and America. She was a member of Grau's Metropolitan Opera Company of New York. Eventually, she became a voice teacher at the American Conservatory of Music in Chicago. Ragna Linne was especially popular with her countrymen in America, where she often appeared as guest soloist at their singing festivals. Eleanora Olson, a student of Mrs. Anna Smith Behrens, also won wide popularity as an interpreter of Norwegian songs. She was American born and trained and concertized extensively throughout the Northwest. The American born Jacob L. Hjort began his study, at Olive Fremstad's suggestion, with her voice teacher in Minneapolis, Miss Lucy Williams. He later studied with Prof. A. W. Porter there and was in much demand as an oratorio soloist. He also studied for a time in England with the well-known singer and teacher George Henschel. Hjort taught voice in Minneapolis and Red Wing for a number of years. His work in behalf of Norwegian music was recognized by the United Scandinavian Singers' Association in 1889. The Association held its festival in Minneapolis in 1891, and Hjort, as president, worked diligently to make this festival a success.

Two Norwegian-American pianists reviewed achieved considerable status as concert pianists and teachers. Helga Olsen, upon completing her work in piano and theory at Northwestern Conservatory of Music in Minneapolis, continued her studies in Chicago and New York before going to Germany to study with Prof. Jedliczka. Upon her return to Minneapolis she established a piano studio in Minneapolis and won wide acclaim as a concert pianist and instructor. The reviewer of her first concert before the Ladies' Thursday Musicale in Minneapolis called her "One of the most gifted pianists who had played for the club." She was much in demand as an instructor because of her thorough competence. Mrs. Constance Locke-Valisi received her training at the American Conservatory in Chicago and at the age of 18 appeared as soloist with the Chicago Symphony Orchestra. She taught piano at the Conservatory for seven years and made several American concert tours. She came to St. Paul in 1899, where she taught piano and assisted either as soloist or accompanist at many of the Twin Cities' musical functions.

As for instrumentalists, Dahle wrote that there were a number of amateur instrumentalists among the Scandinavians, with quite a few brass band societies organized throughout the Northwest. There were also a few orchestras. "Under the indefatigable and able teacher, Haldor Hansen, at Luther College, orchestra and band had been cultivated with zeal for several years...In the past few years St. Olaf College had rejoiced in having a good band." There were proportionately fewer orchestras mainly because of a lack of fine string teachers. Violin players, by preference, chose to live in the larger cities where they could both teach and play in orchestras. However, the Twin Cities did have Olaf Hals, F. Melius Christiansen, and Erik Oule. Olaf Hals had studied at the Leipzig Conservatory, in Berlin with W. Sachse, a graduate of the Joachim School, and later with the famous Emile Sauret. He came to St. Paul in 1897, where he taught violin and performed as soloist both in the Twin Cities and elsewhere. F. Melius Christiansen first studied with his father, a band-director in Norway. He emigrated to America and studied violin at the Northwest Conservatory of Music in Minneapolis. After his graduation in 1890, he served several churches as choir director and organist and composed and published several vocal compositions. In 1899 he went to Leipzig, where he studied with Hans Sitt. He returned to Minneapolis as director of the violin department at Northwestern Conservatory. He gave a number of concerts in cities of the Northwest. After a concert in Minneapolis, Minneapolis Journal commented: "Melius Christiansen gives a remarkably good impression as a violinist. Among other selections, he performed a violin concerto by Max Bruch with great skill, considerable warmth and power, and soulful interpretation." Erik Oulie studied music at a military school in Christiania, received his instruction in harmony and counterpoint from Johann Svendsen and Johann Selmer, in organ from Ludvig Lindeman and in violin from Guldbrand Bøhn. He emigrated to America in 1890 and was profitably employed in Boston for several years. He later came to St. Paul and became associated with the conducting of male choruses and large singing festivals. He was also a competent orchestra musician and was employed regularly in this capacity.

St. Paul also had a very talented young brother and sister team, Arthur and Minnie Bergh. Arthur played first violin in the Twin Cities' Orchestra, was a member of Riedelsberger's string quartet, taught music at Mc Allister College and served as organist at Plymouth Church. He studied first with the Danish musician, C. M. Selling of St. Paul, later with the German Emil Straka of Minneapolis, and the teacher-artist Claude

Madden. Minnie Bergh's first teacher was her father, who was followed by Sophie Ellingsen and Charles G. Titcomb. She created a sensation at an early age because of her amazing proficiency. In 1901 these two young artists gave a series of four recitals which were lauded by both the foreign language and American press.

C. M. Selling, a Danish musician who did much to interpret Norwegian music among the people of the Northwest, received his training under able German musicians who had conducted the military band in Aalborg. His major instrument was the violin. He later conducted the Aarhus Theater and 8th Infantry Regiment Band. He emigrated to America in 1899 and came to St. Paul, where he played for a time in George Seibert's Orchestra and directed the Apollo (Danish) singing society in Minneapolis. Later he became orchestra conductor at the Grand Opera House. He organized and developed the Minnesota State Band which was booked at Lake Como for several seasons in a series of open air concerts. The organization contributed toward developing a taste for better music through his efforts to program compositions by the masters as well as the lighter popular music.

Johann Colberg, who emigrated to America in 1870, received his musical training with the Second Akershus Brigade Band. He directed the Champaigne and Urbana Illinois Bands for several years and then moved to Chicago. Here he directed a Norwegian band and Nordmaendenes Singing Society, the latter for fifty years.

The group participated in the first Scandinavian Choral Festival in 1887, at Philadelphia, where he was chosen chief director and president of the United Scandinavian Singers of America. He also was director-in-chief of their singing festival which met in Chicago during the World's Fair in 1893 and directed a combined chorus of about 1000 voices with the Thomas Orchestra in *Landkjending* and *Volmerslaget*.

Two Twin Cities' organists were Norwegian born and trained,--Peter H. P. Rydning and Henrich Gunnersen. Rydning grew up in a family of organists. His three uncles were church organists, and his father, a teacher, was also somewhat of an organ manufacturer who built fifteen organs for home use and also tried at one time to build a pipe organ. Peter enrolled at Lindeman's Music Conservatory and gave such a good entrance audition that he received free tuition. He was graduated in 1891 and for two years made concert tours to many cities in Norway. He came to America in 1893, where he found a position in Minneapolis as organist at Bethlehem Church and as teacher of music at the United Church Seminary. He taught organ and gave many recitals in cities throughout the Northwest. In April, 1897, *St. Paul Globe* reviewed one of his concerts and commented, "Mr. Rydning is a very able organist. He is a young man, but he plays his large instrument with mastery...." Henrich Gunnersen studied organ with Olaf Paulus in Norway. He came to America and taught music at Washburn and Ashland, Wisconsin. He returned to Norway to study at the Lindeman Conservatory and after two years returned to

America to become a church organist and teacher in Minneapolis.

Kristian Nilsson and Alfred Paulsen also had their musical education in Norway and both emigrated to America, Nilsson in 1887 and Paulsen in 1888. Nilsson studied with G. Tischendorff and later with Vogel and Grieg. He was a member of *Harmonien* when Grieg conducted it. He held various positions as choir director and organist in Bergen and Mondel and conducted many singing societies including Bergen's *Bjørgvin*, considered at the time to be one of the best singing societies in Bergen. He also composed many compositions for male choruses. Some of his first fourteen songs may be found in a collection published in this country under the name *Norrøna Kvad*. He had originally intended only to visit America, but he was so pleased with the conditions and the brighter prospects for making a living here that he stayed. He made his home in Chicago, where he directed five singing societies. His compositions, published and unpublished, numbered about 200. His *Standard Prelude Album* sold over 30,000 copies. Alfred Paulsen received his early music training in Norway from Grieg, Winter-Hjelm and L. Lindeman, and then went to Leipzig for three years of study. He returned to Christiania as organist at St. Jacob's Church, taught piano, organ, and theory and directed several singing societies. Upon coming to America, he established his home in Chicago. He became a church organist, teacher of piano, organ, and harmony and wrote many compositions for men's choruses. *Naar Fjordene Blaaner* became a universal favorite with Norwegian male choruses.

Gerhard Tonning studied piano and theory with the Norwegian composer Ole Olsen and continued his work at the Conservatory in München. He returned to Norway and taught music in several city schools in Stavanger, directed the Music Society, and organized a Choral Society which presented oratorios, cantatas and church concerts. He composed a number of songs for choir, two of which were presented in 1885 by Harmonien in Bergen under the direction of Iver Holter. Tonning emigrated to America and made his home in Duluth, where he was much in demand as a pianist, teacher, and director of chamber music concerts. He was a prolific composer. By request, he presented a complete program of his own compositions for the Schubert Club in St. Paul. It was the first time in the history of the State that a composer had presented an entire program of his own compositions. In May 1901, several of his compositions were performed before the Minnesota Music Teachers' Convention held in St. Paul. These received very complimentary press notices.

Most of the musicians reviewed had received both instrumental and vocal music preparation which they turned to good account in enriching cultural life...in the pioneer communities of the Northwest.[22] Dahle's account of the development of the Norwegian male chorus and the Choral Union of the Church has been told in earlier chapters.

---

[22] The complete biographical sketches on the Norwegian immigrant musicians were published in Nordvesten from April 1902, through April 2, 1903.

_Nordvesten_'s columns also reviewed the concerts of the Synod Church choir and the Luther Seminary Musical Concerts, both of which featured good church music and fine presentation. These sacred concerts were on the whole very well attended. In a review of the Synod Church Choir Concert published November 28, 1901, Dahle comments, "The attendance at the last concert is a guarantee that the people here appreciate good sacred concerts. Such concerts should be given in more communities. Let us have more real music, noble church music, whether it is in sacred concerts or concerts of other kinds."

On April 10, 1902, there was a critique of Haydn's _Creation_, which was presented by the St. Paul Choral Club. The chorus numbered over a hundred voices of well selected voices and was accompanied by a good orchestra. The soprano and tenor soloists were admirably suited to oratorio performance but the bass-baritone lacked the restrained warmth necessary to such roles. His style was more suitable for some character roles in opera. Why the American dailies extolled his merits as an oratorio singer was difficult to understand and evidenced a quite singular taste.

The St. Paul Choral Club presented _Elijah_ by Mendelssohn in February, 1904. Dahle's review praised the chorus of 114 voices for its precision and power but deplored its lack of balance since there were twice as many women's as men's voices.

He also deplored the American custom of applauding the oratorio selections and remarked somewhat tartly, "The American audience's inappropriate applause after the most serious and gripping passages deserves much sharp criticism. If only the criticism would help!"

Norwegian-American Press Association Address.--In September 1903, John Dahle gave the main address before the members of the Norwegian-American Press Association. The following members attended: B. Anundsen of Decorah Posten; Christian Brandt and John Dahle of Nordvesten; C. Rasmussen of Ugebladet; M.S. Rasmussen of Illustreret Familie-Journal; Ed. Lund and L. Stavnheim of Nye Nordmaenden; A. A. Trovaten and J. H. Ulsaker of Fram, Fargo; P. O. Thorson of Nordmanden, Grand Forks; T. Gulbrandsen, Carl Hansen, and S. Sørensen of Minneapolis Tidende; A. M. Sundheim of Lutheraneren; Professor Julius E. Olson, Madison, Wis., (honorary member); Peer D. Strømme, Madison, Wisconsin; B. Hage, Minneapolis; Prof. R. Rogstad, Moorhead; Prof. Wilhelm Pettersen, Minneapolis.

Dahle's speech emphasized the two-fold character of the Norwegian-American press,--its role as a disseminator and interpreter of news so that the public might be well-informed, and its role as a connecting link between the immigrant and his homeland so that his traditions and heritage might be preserved and his spirit strengthened as he built his home in America "in his father's spirit and faith." The main body of his speech dealt with the critics in American society who called for "purifying of the press." He evaluated several weaknesses of the Norwegian-American press and offered some constructive suggestions for its improvement. He was especially critical of all "shoddy and deceptive reading material, advertisements included, and the sensational details written about the scandals of the times." By printing the first type of reading material "the newspapers had become accomplices in promoting fraud" and by including the second type "it had catered to man's baser passions." The profitable nature of this type of material was the chief reason for its being published. "If our Norwegian-Danish Press Association would take this matter under serious discussion and would agree to take a stand against all such shoddy and deceptive reading material, advertisements as well, if they would agree to keep it out of their own columns and to oppose it in the American press through powerful articles written in English, it would bear fruit, and the Norwegian-Danish press would merit the gratitude of this generation and of posterity." A clean press would never be possible so long as the chief objective of the press was to make as much money as possible.

In the second place, he was critical of the lack of leadership exhibited by the Norwegian-American press in the critical appraisal of significant trends in society, particularly those of capitalistic domination, social unrest, and agrarian discontent.

The third area of criticism was directed toward the lack of critical honesty in appraising the programs of cultural agencies. With irony he observed, "Among us, all societies are good and have a big mission to perform." This habit of boasting had a stultifying effect which demonstrated a lack of perceptive discrimination.

He appealed to the Norwegian-American press to promote the cause of the farmer so that he too could achieve financial security, educational goals, culture, status, and political leadership and he concluded that, "The spirit of a business civilization contaminates our journalistic work just as it completely dominates the American daily newspapers, and will completely overpower us if we are not on our guard."

Editor Dahle was given a rising vote of thanks, for his speech. The members of the Press Association and their wives were entertained at Solheim, the country estate of Consul E. H. Hobe and his wife, near Bald Eagle Lake, the evening of the same day. The dinner guests numbered well over fifty. Numerous short talks, gay conversation, and Fram's spirited singing enlivened the evening. John Dahle spoke of the evening as one which would long "be remembered by everyone as a shining and treasured memory."[23]

Late in 1905, John Dahle's position as associate editor of Nordvesten was terminated. The newspaper continued in operation until 1907, when it was sold to T. Gulbrandsen and incorporated with *Minneapolis Tidende*.

---

[23] See the Appendix for the complete text of John Dahle's speech. It was published in Nordvesten, September 10, 1903, together with an account of the dinner meeting at the home of Consul Hobe.

*Member of Valdris Samband*

Another organization in which John Dahle took an active role was the *Valdris Samband*. This was an organization made up of the people who had emigrated from the same *bygd* (rural district) in Norway.

> The distinguishing marks of the *bygd* groups were many, including the lore of history and tradition accumulated through a thousand years or more in a Norwegian district that by geography and by isolation had been definitely marked as different from other *bygds* and people. Each district had its own wealth of ballad and folk song, of custom and dress, even of temperamental characteristics... But the most conspicuous distinguishing mark was dialect.[24]

The Valdris organization, which began as a get together of Twin Cities Valdrises, originated with Thomas Lajord, who published a letter in the Valdris dialect in *Nordvesten*, February 2, 1899, urging such a meeting. Lajord's letter was answered in *Nordvesten*, February 23, 1899, by a Valdris from Otter Tail County who suggested that Lajord's suggestion of a reunion of Valdrises should include all the Valdris people in the nation. By 1901, the organization had blossomed into a movement, national in scope, and newspaper accounts estimated a gathering of 2,000 or more at the Valdris *Stevne* (meeting) held at Como-Park in Minneapolis. "Possibly half were from the states of Wisconsin,

---

[24] Theodore C. Blegen, *Norwegian Migration to America: The American Transition* (Northfield, 1940), p. 77.

Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, the Dakotas, and from numerous places in Minnesota outside the Twin Cities. It was emphatically a meeting of national character or representation."[25] In the "Chronicles of the Valdris Samband" it appears that John Dahle was often called upon either as toastmaster, orator, or director of musical groups. The record for the Third Stevne, 1901, reports the following program:

> Kari Rudi played the langeleik. John Ethen sang Valdris songs. Several numbers were rendered by the men's singing society Fram of St. Paul, led by Prof. John Dahle. Dr. Johnson opened the exercises with a brief address. The formal address written in the Hørisbygding variety of Valdris dialect was given by A. A. Veblen. Speeches which were also in dialect were made by ex-Congressman Haldor Boen and Prof. John Dahle.[26]

The Valdris Samband, through the efforts of A. A. Veblen and others, was organized on a permanent basis at this Third Stevne, and the necessary committees were elected to draw up a constitution and to take charge of plans for the next meeting. One of the goals of the Samband as stated in its Constitution was to "encourage the collection, safe-keeping, and publication of all such matters as concern the Valdrises, Valdris settlements, and the Valdris language in this new and cherished home of so many Valdrises."[27] A. A. Veblen, who became a leading force in the Samband, edited the quarterly Valdris Helsing (1903-1910) and the monthly Valdris Samband (1910-1917).

---

[25] Andrew A. Veblen, The Valdris Book, p. 53.

[26] Andrew A. Veblen, p. 103.

[27] Andrew A. Veblen, p. 107. The Minnesota Historical Society has a collection of the papers of A. A. Veblen, sometimes

John Dahle gave the address in the Valdris dialect at the fourth Stevne held at Como Park, Minneapolis, 1902. The first part of his speech was in nostalgic vein, as he recalled the sights, sounds, smells of Valdris and reminisced about the people he had known there as a child. He characterized these Valdris people as having a strong poetic vein...This quality could be seen in their ballads and fine folk songs. "Music and song ran through the lives of the people as fresh and alive as the brooks and streams or the cataracts rippling down the mountain side." The Valdris people had a sense of humor, not the "glib humor of an Irishman or a Mark Twain, but a philosophical humor" which allowed them to laugh at their own poverty. These people had had singing societies in the parishes for the past forty years and libraries and newspapers as long as he could remember. Many changes had taken place there since he was a child and progress had brought the people industrial development, telephone service throughout the whole valley, and fine homes. He recalled how the young people wanted to emigrate and how father and mother often could not understand. The joy of receiving an "America letter" was "like the elixir of life for the old people."

Pride in ancestry was a marked trait in Valdris, but in America the Valdrises had become too involved in the "struggle

---

called the father of the bygdelag movement. Veblen also wrote a sketch of the historical development of the bygdelag movement for Dr. J. S. Johnson's book Minnesota, published in 1914.

and concern for daily bread" to give this much thought. The danger for the Valdris people in America was that they might be caught up in the "materialistic spirit of the age" so that their values would be dominated by the philosophy that the successful man was the rich man. He hoped that the poetic qualities inherent in them would not be lost "as in a mist or fog." Even the schools had been influenced by the spirit of the times and stressed the practical not the liberal education. On the whole, however, the "Valdris people had conducted themselves well in America and were as honorable as any other immigrants one could name."[28] In addition to giving the main address, John Dahle also directed the singing society *Fram* in several selections.

In the evening an informal banquet was held at Mozart Hall in St. Paul. This *gjestebø* (banquet) featured the serving of Norwegian food of the type served in the home *bygd*, with "*lutefisk*, *lefse*, *flatbrød*, *rjumegraut*, *spekekjøt*" as the menu. John Dahle served in the capacity of toastmaster at this first banquet and "he proved such a treasure in this capacity that he was called to act at these functions of the *Samband* whenever he was not positively hindered from attending. By reason of his versatile originality, Prof. Dahle was without a peer as toastmaster and as such he was regarded as a characteristic institution of the Valdris Samband."[29] There were singing and instrumental music at this first gjestebø. A special part of the entertainment, according to Veblen, was the featuring of a violinist who played tunes associated with *Valdris* while dancers "gave an exhibition of the old national Springdans." These performances became regular features at the yearly gjestebø. John Dahle presided as toastmaster on ten different occasions from 1902-1916. His early training in the theater plus his native ability, wit, and fluency made these performances delightful and rememberable.

---

[28] See Appendix for the complete speech.

[29] A. A. Veblen, *The Valdris Book*, p. 111.

The *Bygdelag* movement as a whole served no significant purpose other than a social one. Each of the *lags* helped to keep alive an interest in the music, dances, and traditions of its native district. Veblen's idea of keeping an historical biographical record of the members of the various *lags* did not materialize largely because there were few such interested and capable editors as he. His editing of *Valdris* *Samband* was an exception. Through the pages of the *Valdris* *Book* much social history was recorded. The biographical sketches allowed one to get a glimpse of the hopes and dreams of many pioneer leaders as well as an understanding of the effort which they put forth to realize them. The present writer found the biographical sketch of John Dahle, written by one of his contemporaries, a valuable source of information. One other aspect of the *lag* movement, which Veblen recorded, was the custom of raising funds for memorial gifts or charitable endowments to be sent to the home districts. The Valdris *lag*, for example, in 1914 was raising funds for a memorial gift to Valdris; in the year of Norway's Centennial celebration. Valdris Samband held no meetings during the war years 1917-1918 and the publication of Samband was discontinued as the cry for "100% Americanism" was heard throughout the land. The many other lags (societies) patterned on the Valdris organization also were silent for a time.[30] However, as Arthur Schlesinger observes:

> The national purpose has been to create a democracy of diverse cultures which should embody the values and ideals, the arts, knowledge, and techniques, of men of every European background. This is the New World's answer to the Old World's way of segregating humanity in nations with different governments, different languages, different hopes. The authors of the national-origins formula would have denied any departure from this aim, though they hedged it about with what they believed to be necessary safeguards...In no other sense does "100% Americanism" have historical warrant.[31]

---

[30] L. M. Gimmestad, "Bygdelagsbevaegelsen," Skandinaven Almanak og Kalender, 1929, pp. 97-103. (Gimmestad lists forty-seven bygdelags active in 1929). The Minnesota Historical Association has year books and other materials published by many of the bygdelags.

[31] Arthur M. Schlesinger, "The Role of the Immigrant," in Paths to the Present (New York, 1949), pp. 75-76.

# VIII

# RECOGNITION AS "A VERITABLE PIONEER PROPHET OF CHURCH SONG"

John Dahle was dedicated to the principle that the best of Norway's music should become a part of the lives of succeeding generations of Norwegian-Americans and eventually become infused into the broader aspect of American life. Essentially this involved the transference of the best folk song literature, the hymns and chorales of the Church, and such Norwegian art songs and instrumental works as had attained world recognition. It was in the area of Church Music that he was to make his greatest contribution. In spite of the great work he had done and was to continue to do in behalf of the development of Norwegian-American cultural life, at no time had he received remuneration commensurate with his expenditure of time, talent, and energy. Not until late in life did conditions improve in this respect. His restless pace was dictated as much by his consuming interest as by his necessity. He found that upholding a liberal arts tradition in a society increasingly geared to superficiality and material gain was not a profitable task. Yet he would brook no lowering of standards to meet popular taste.

## Director of Twin City Area Male Choruses

From 1890 on when John Dahle had first come up from Story City, Iowa, to direct _Nordmaendenes_ Singing Society in Minneapolis, he at various times had organized and conducted male choruses in the Twin Cities area. _Sanger-Hilsen_ (August-September 1912), reported Dahle's having taken over the directorship of the Twin City Quartet Club. In April 1913, the same source stated that "Prof. John Dahle is now directing two student choruses at the Norwegian Synod Seminary at Hamline, besides the Twin City Quartet Club, Dania in St. Paul and _Dovre_ in Minneapolis."

In 1915 the Twin City Quartet Club received a challenge from Hjalmar Nilsson's _Arpi_ Singing Society to a contest of skill between the two:

> The first event took place in the Central Presbyterian Church in St. Paul, April 23, 1915. The judges were Dr. Victor Nilsson and J. Mc Clure Bellows, music critics for the _Minneapolis Journal_ and the _St. Paul Pioneer Press_, respectively, and Charles A. Fischer of St. Paul another competent judge. Their decision was based on 1) tone quality, 2) dynamics, 3) attack, 4) enunciation, 5) phrasing. The Quartet Club opened the contest with _Kari aa Mari_ after which _Arpi_ sang a number composed by G. A. Sandberg, a second bass in the chorus. In the second round of songs the special numbers were _Arpi's Vackra Sky_ and the Quartet Club's "Serenade" by Abt, arranged by John Dahle. The two groups were very evenly matched, the total number of points given Twin City Quartet Club being 527 and _Arpi_, 518. For the second concert held a week later at the Minneapolis Auditorium the judges selected were: Fred G. Smith, John B. Lichfeldt, both of Minneapolis, and Prof. Brunch of St. Paul. Governor Adolph Eberhardt announced the result from the stage: _Arpi_, 531; Quartet Club 525.[1]

---

[1] _Sanger-Hilsen_ (May-June 1915) reprinted in _Sanger-Hilsen_ (June-

A third contest to resolve the tie was proposed but the event was never materialized.

Nordmaendenes of St. Paul needed a director in the spring of 1920, when Hjalmar Nilsson resigned because his duties as State Oil Inspector made travel imperative, and the singing group was fortunate "to secure the service of the well-known director and composer, John Dahle," wrote Henry G. Iverson, the society's secretary, in a letter to Sanger-Hilsen in May 1920. Plans were underway for the Society's May 17 festival and for their participation in the Association's singing festival in July. More immediate was the preparation for the observance of the Society's thirty-second anniversary concert to be given at Masonic Temple, St. Paul's largest concert room with the exception of the Auditorium. "The large pipe organ in the Temple is one of the best in this area," wrote the secretary in his news notes for Sanger-Hilsen, January 1921, which also stated, "Under Prof. John Dahle we are now holding two chorus rehearsals a week and we have the best of hopes. Our soloists are to be the well known artists, Mr. Gustaf Holmquist and the Northwest's excellent organist, Mr. George H. Fairclough."

The anniversary concert and banquet were successful in every way except financial. The Society decided to make up the

---

July 1940). See also J. J. Skørdalsvold, "John Dahle" in Valdreser i Amerika (Minneapolis, 1922), for an account of these contest concerts.

deficit by having a May 17 festival, a Steamboat Excursion during the summer, and a "gigantic" bazaar in the fall.

In April 1921, Sanger-Hilsen reported two benefit concerts, one to be given April 28, in the St. Paul Auditorium, the other in the Minneapolis Armory by the Twin Cities' Scandinavian Singers' Societies. The proceeds were to go into a fund for needy children in Europe. Eighteen societies comprising 3-400 voices were to co-operate in the project under the directors John Dahle and Hjalmar Nilsson. Mr. A. C. Floan of St. Paul proposed the benefit concert and assisted with the plans.

Iverson's newsletter of November 1921, gave the Society's fall schedule of activities:

> On October 15-16, 1921, Nordmaendenes assisted at the two Jenny Lind Concerts, which were held in Minneapolis and St. Paul. The concert in St. Paul was very successful. The songs were well presented and the sound of the $60,000 pipe organ just installed in the Auditorium was a delight to hear...On October 26, the Society participated in a program for Music Week at the St. Paul Auditorium. There were at least 3,000 people present, but then, of course, the concert was free....

The bazaar, sponsored by four groups--the two Sons of Norway Lodges of St. Paul, the Daughters of Norway, and Nordmaendenes--brought a profit of $1,000, which was equally divided among the Societies. "Taking into consideration the difficult times with so much unemployment, one feels that the results exceeded all expectations," states Iverson. In June, Prof. Dahle, who had now directed the group nearly two years, resigned because of ill health. The December 12, 1921, Sanger-Hilsen gave an account of a "Testimonial Concert" held at Christ Church by the Luther Seminary Chorus and the Christ Church Choir, under the direction of Prof. Dahle, and the Luther Seminary Glee Club, under the direction of Prof. M. C. Johnshoy. A free will offering was taken up which was presented to Prof. Dahle, who was planning a trip to Norway the following spring. "The attendance was poor," stated Iverson, "which was regrettable when there was an opportunity to return a compliment to a man who had given his life and health in the noble service of singing." On this occasion, Mr. Iverson gave a short talk on behalf of Nordmaendenes and presented Dahle with the Society's gold medal of honor as well as a gift of money as a token of the Society's appreciation of his great and persevering work for the cause of Norwegian men's choruses, his promotion of Norwegian music, in general, and for his work with Nordmaendenes, in particular.

John Dahle was called upon once more to assist Nordmaendenes in March 1924, the year of the Singing Association's Festival, which was scheduled to meet in St. Paul in July. The resignation of the Society's director had again necessitated its finding another. Under the caption "Prof. Dahle Puts His Shoulder to the Wheel Again," Sanger-Hilsen in January 1921, expressed the pleasure felt by Nordmaendenes that Prof. Dahle would assist them and called attention to the fact that "when the singing festival was in St. Paul before--it will be twenty-four years ago this summer--Prof. Dahle was the Association's director-in-chief and Fram's instructor."

It is interesting to note the efforts of the Twin Cities' male choruses to raise funds for their forthcoming 1924 festival. Henry G. Iverson's news letters in Sanger-Hilsen give the story:[2] A bazaar with prizes to be given away was planned for March 28, 29, 30. These included a large oil painting, "Party from Telemarken," donated by the artist Mr. Einar Evansen, first tenor with Nordmaendenes, valued at $150.00, a radio, and a gun. The dates selected for the bazaar proved unfortunate because of the heavy snow storm which stopped all traffic for four days. "It was a snowstorm, the like of which had not been seen in 32 years, according to the meteorological reports." Nevertheless the bazaar opened with a fair attendance on Friday, March 28. "Nordkap men's chorus of Minneapolis was there in full strength,--bold-spirited men who defied the weather." Saturday there were only a dozen visitors. The attendance Sunday was creditable. All the singers were present. "Great enthusiasm was stirred up when J. A. Myhre and his wife appeared smilingly at the door. They had walked miles in a drifting snowstorm through snow drifts that rose up as high as mountains. For them Hurrah!" It was decided that the bazaar be continued the following Saturday and Sunday, April 4 and 5. On Saturday the St. Paul Swedish Male Chorus (Vega) and Dovre of Minneapolis sang and Sunday Nordmaendenes (St. Paul) and Den Norske Glee Club, Minneapolis entertained. On the whole, the bazaar was a "thundering success."

---

[2] The accounts of the preparations for the festival, the festival itself, and the reactions following it are in the April through July 1, 1924, issues of Sanger-Hilsen.

An intense advance ticket sale promotion began so that the $6,500 needed to defray the expenses of the festival could be assured. "In case this sum was not raised, a foresighted finance committee guaranteed a subscription fund raised by loyal backers but it was hoped that this money would not be needed. According to all reports, the festival drew large crowds and the financial committee reported that there was a $4500 net profit for the treasury."

At the concerts 632 singers performed under Frederick Wick's baton. The veteran singer Dr. J. R. Nannestad of Albert Lea wrote his impressions of the festival in a letter to *Sanger-Hilsen*, following the event. He felt that it had been a "bona fide" festival.

> The singers sang well. I think I can safely say that I have never heard them sound better... It is the combined chorus which is the principal interest at our singing festivals, not the soloists nor the individual societies' program numbers. On the whole the singers knew the music, even though many of them were rather unsure in Heise's magnificent *Kong Haakes' Ligfaerd* and in *Søderman*'s dashing *Bondbryllup*...For the most part the harmony was good. Chills ran up and down one's back.

The main impression he received was that men's chorus singing was very popular among the Norwegians. "People came in from everywhere" to hear the programs. The Association had now been in existence for over thirty years and was in good hands.

John Dahle had served on the festival music committee and had worked faithfully to prepare *Nordmaendenes* in the performance of the festival songs. His many other activities in addition to his need to conserve his energies led to his resignation as a director after he had fulfilled this obligation to a group which had so often demonstrated its pleasure in his leadership. For a man nearing his seventy-second year, his schedule was still an actively busy one.

## Instructor, Norwegian Drama, University of Minnesota

During the years 1910-1912, John Dahle taught Norwegian drama at the University of Minnesota. Under his direction the Norwegian Students' Society presented such great Norwegian dramas as En Fallit ("A Bankrupt"), Samfundets Støtter ("Pillars of Society"), and "Sven Dyring's House." Skørdalsvold comments on Dahle's work as a dramatic coach:

> Dahle told me that this work was enormously interesting. There were many others who thought so too; for neither before nor since has more persevering work been done in Norwegian drama than Prof. Dahle's class put into Samfundets støtter. After several months of rehearsal, an evening performance was scheduled. It took three hours to present the play...There were people present who were good critics of dramatic art and Prof. Dahle was very much pleased by their comments. The daily newspapers commented: 'The performance was a fine tribute to Prof. John Dahle'...Prof. Hans Jørgensen wrote: 'It is a certainty that nothing more magnificent has been performed by amateurs here,' and Prof. J. W. Beach said: 'A significant art work presented with seriousness and care...This was a significant event in our world of frivolous trivialities. Those who took part have had an experience of lasting value. The performance added dignity to the Scandinavian Department and brought honor to our Norwegian people.' ...Prof. Dahle's work at the University was well received, and the Scandinavian Department was very much interested

> in his ability as an instructor. However, the Synod's Theological Seminary had made arrangements, whereby it would be unnecessary for him to continue his work at the University and whereby he could devote full time to his work at the Seminary. He had, however, worked long enough at the University to demonstrate his unusual ability to kindle enthusiasm in young minds and to win the approval of scholarly men.[3]

## His Ministry of Music Continues

Professor of Hymnology and Chant.--Both the United Church Seminary and the Norwegian Synod's Seminary engaged John Dahle to teach hymnology and sacred music in 1912. After the death of his wife in 1913, arrangements for living quarters were made for him at the Synod's Theological Seminary at Hamline and later at the Luther Theological Seminary at St. Anthony Park, following the merger of the Church bodies in 1917. He also conducted the Seminary's Male Chorus. There was fine rapport between Prof. Dahle and the young theological students. They regarded him not only as a teacher but as a person whom they respected and loved. Sigurd Folkestad, in an article on John Dahle for Nordmands Forbundet, August 8, 1919, wrote:

> They love this man with the young mind, great intellect, solid education, and artist's friendliness...Last year they signed a unanimous petition and presented it to the officers of the Church asking that Prof. Dahle receive a salary more commensurate with the great value of the work which he was doing in the service of the Church.

Choral Union Director.--The merger of the three branches of the Church, which had gone their separate ways for twenty-seven years, necessitated changes in the structure of the organizational activities within the separate synods. One such activity with which John Dahle had been closely identified was the Choral Union of the Synod Church. At a meeting held June 8, 1917, prior to the first general convention whose song festival would incorporate the choirs of the three synods, the Choral Union of the Norwegian Synod honored its great "Prophet of Church Song" and founder of its Choral Union. The address given at this time had imprinted on its title page:

---

[3] J. J. Skørdalsvold, pp. 96-97.

To
Prof. John Dahle
Pioneer and Champion of Church Music
Among the Norwegian-Americans
In grateful remembrance
from
The Norwegian Synod Choral Union
Presented at
The final meeting of the organization in St. Paul
June 8, 1917

The main body of the address stressed the role which Prof. John Dahle had played in the cultivation and promotion of church music as instructor in hymnology and chant, director of church choirs, publisher of church choir materials, and as founder of the Choral Union. Stressing the significance of his work for the future of the Church, the address concluded:

> Posterity will be better able to evaluate your accomplishments in our church body. However, visible evidences of your influence are already discernible in the mounting interest in Lutheran hymn singing as well as choral singing among the hosts of youth in thousands of homes and churches; in the appreciation you have developed for good church song; in the good will and enthusiasm with which this matter is being hailed by the youth of other church bodies; in the need which now expresses itself for the formation of a new and larger singing society, which with increased energy will be able to promote the great cause of church singing and church music to which you, Professor Dahle, have dedicated your life, talents, and energy.[4]

The observance of the 400th anniversary of the Reformation and the entrance of America into World War 1 were two events around which the committees planning the first general convention celebrating the merging of the church bodies built their programs. A jubilee chorus led the congregational singing at the convention and presented two song festivals,--a Red Cross Benefit Concert and a Reformation Song Festival. From the opening strains of the majestic TeDeum led by the jubilee chorus and the Luther College Band at the first convention worship service, through the two inspirational services of song, the combined choirs of the church, now fused into a single Choral Union, bore witness to the leadership which dedicated musical leaders in all the church bodies had given at great personal sacrifice of their time, energy, and means to develop the musical resources and to enlist the enthusiastic support of its church choirs.

---

[4] J. C. K. Preus, History of the Choral Union, p. 52.

Two musical leaders--John Dahle and F. Melius Christiansen--shared the podium for the Red Cross Benefit Concert at the first General Convention's evening program, June 9, 1917. The chorus of about 1500 voices was assisted by the St. Olaf College Band, Mrs. Mildred Romsdal-Bruns, soprano; Mr. Ingolf Grindeland, tenor; Mr. Gustav Holmquist, baritone; and Mrs. Esther Erhart Woll, accompanist. The festival opened with "God Bless Our Native Land" sung by the chorus and audience, the "Unfinished Symphony" played by the band, and "Largo" sung by the chorus,--all under the direction of Prof. Christiansen. Mr. Grindeland then sang a solo, "The Lord Is My Light." John Dahle next directed the chorus as they sang *Kirken den er et gammelt hus* ("Built on a Rock the Church Doth Stand") and Zions Vaegter ("Wake, Awake, for Night Is Flying"). Mrs. Bruns, referred to as "the nightingale of the Red River Valley" followed with two solos: "Hear Ye, Israel" and "Peace Triumphal." John Dahle conducted two more chorus numbers,--*Den Signede dag* ("O Day Full of Grace") and *Herren er min hyrde* ("The Lord Is My Shepherd"), the latter his own composition. After Mr. Holmquist's solos "O God Have Mercy" and "Why do the Nations Rage?" Prof. Christiansen directed the chorus in his own setting of Prof. J. N. Kildahl's text *Store ting bar Herren gjort* ("Wondrous Things the Lord Hath Done"), with pastor A. J. Boe as baritone soloist. The concert was attended by over 6,000 people. Dr. P. M. Glasoe, the Choral Union President, announced a $2,021.01 net profit, which sum the Red Cross received.

The Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra played for the Reformation Song Festival and accompanied the Reformation Cantata, composed by Prof. F. Melius Christiansen for this occasion. The participating soloists were Mr. Gustav Holmquist, baritone; Mrs. Bruns, soprano; and Prof. Carsten Th. Woll, tenor. The Cantata followed the Sunday afternoon Reformation Services, and the Jubilee Chorus, under Prof. Christiansen's baton, gave an inspiring performance.[5]

A joint convention of the Choral Union and the Young People's Luther League was scheduled in 1918 but did not materialize because of the nation's commitment in World War 1.

> An amazing number of regional Choral Union concerts were presented in virtually every section of the Church. Practically all the districts had organized their own Choral Unions. The circuits had done likewise...As a consequence the services of recognized musical directors were much in demand. That was especially true of such persons as Prof. John Dahle, Prof. F. Melius Christiansen, Prof. Carlo A. Sperati, Mr. John Olson of Duluth...and others.[6]

As the years passed Prof. Carlo Sperati (1917-1920) and Prof. F. Melius Christiansen (1920-1946) brought dedicated leadership to the Choral Union. During Prof. Christiansen's long tenure, he consistently focused attention on the Lutheran Chorale and the

---

[5] "Report of the First Convention of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America," Lutheran Church Herald, I (July 6, 1917), 5-6.

[6] J. C. K. Preus, 64-65.

Norwegian folk hymns and inspired countless numbers of young people to an appreciation of the beautiful chorales and hymns which were their heritage, and to a realization of their significance as expressions of the heart's sincere desire to sing praises to God.

Song Publications.--During the years 1914-1917, John Dahle published two collections for church choirs: Laus Deo, Church Anthems New and Old (1915), and Reformation Songs (1917). Following the pattern of his earlier collections, he continued to present good church music to challenge the capabilities of church choirs. Especially significant is the last collection. In the preface to the work he re-iterates the philosophy he had expressed some thirty years earlier:

> These Reformation Songs have the objective quality of the old Lutheran Church Songs. They do not express an individual's personal feelings or emotions; rather they express a congregation's praise and thanks to God as they contemplate on His great grace and mercy in sending His Son to bring salvation to man. Four old Lutheran Chorales arranged for church choirs have found a place in this collection. Hans Leo Hassler and Michael Praetorius represent the flowering of Lutheran Church music. Their arrangements of church melodies are models of their kind. It is to be hoped that our church choirs will make diligent use of these chorales with their characteristic rhythmic form and harmony in the style of the Reformation period. They are especially suitable and will provide a beneficial contrast to certain kinds of thin, sentimental and unchurchly choir songs which we occasionally hear in our Lutheran Church.

Included in the collection besides the Chorales are "O Praise the Lord" by E. J. Hopkins and "O Dayspring" by J. Stainer as well as two compositions by John Dahle. The first, "We Have Thought of Thy Loving-kindness," is a simple four-part Psalm setting, rhythmic in character, and colored harmonically in the style of nineteenth century writing. It is an *a cappella* piece. The second, "Sing, O Heavens," is a setting of Isaiah 49: 13-16 and has organ accompaniment. The first section opens with a declamatory statement by the choir. Short four-measure organ interludes separate the first two sentences which are dynamically contrasted; and the third sentence has a shift from $B^b$ major to g minor. The middle section has a change of meter and is in G Major. It begins with an introductory organ part of four measures. It is a duet setting for tenor and alto answered by soprano and alto with the return of the full choir ending on a chorale quotation from "A Mighty Fortress is Our God." A return to the original meter and key marks the third section which rises to a dramatic climax and falls to a conventional close.

*Cantatas*.--Sigurd Folkestad called John Dahle the immigrant's composer. His *Fisker Cantata* seemed an expression of the Northmen's inmost soul and retained a home-like depth and sincerity of feeling for all which was emotional, mystic, and religious...The older Norwegian-Americans understood him very well, for he seemed to have interpreted their feelings as immigrants in a new land.[7]

A Cantata with words by Sigurd Folkestad and music by Prof.

---

[7] Sigurd Folkestad in *Nordmands Forbundet*, August 8, 1919. The Cantata is not extant.

John Dahle was presented for the first time at Our Saviour's Lutheran Church in Minneapolis in the spring of 1919. Minneapolis Tidende's review was reprinted in Nordmands Forbundet, May 1919. It referred to the work as "an exceptional musical event" which was "presented from manuscript by the church choir" and added that the composer and the poet had "created an impressive work built on a Norwegian-American theme--a theme which loomed largest and most powerful in all Norwegian-American activities--the Church. The review continued:

> The introduction with its impressive folk song theme brought a breath of the homeland. In the opening tenor solo Som hjorten i ørkenstøv smaegter ("As the Hart Panteth After the Water-brooks"), the implied symbolism of the Norwegian immigrant's longing to worship his father's God in the new land was sympathetically interpreted by the tenor, Olaf Towley. Miss Hannah Swenson's pure soprano (was) excellently suited to the Norwegian-American setting which Prof. Dahle so successfully had created. The section portraying the building and consecration of the Church rose to a solemn climax. The men's chorus Herre Gud Fader, som har elsket verden saa at du gav din søn ("The Lord So Loved the World That He Gave His Only Beloved Son"), was especially gripping; the number was performed by the Seminary's Glee Club which Prof. Dahle regularly conducted. The other choruses in the closing section were also powerful.[8]

The time element was an important factor in the writing of this cantata. Because of the shortness of time given Dahle to compose the music, he began to write the full score in pen and ink, but finally resorted to using a pencil. "The score was so illegible that the organist, Henrich Gunnersen, found it almost impossible to follow. Pastor J. W. Preus, of Our Saviour's Church, came to the rescue and re-copied the entire score in pen and ink. This was a considerable accomplishment in view of the fact that he had not fully recovered from the effects of a paralytic stroke. But complete it he did, and Gunnersen had a readable score."[9]

---

[8] Sigurd Folkestad was a pastor at Strum, Wisconsin. He wrote a considerable amount of poetry. The poetry for the cantata was written for the 50th anniversary of the Strum, Wisconsin, Congregation which he served. In 1919 he accepted a position as secretary of Nordmands Forbundet and returned to Norway. The manuscript of the Cantata is not extant.

Folkestad in Nordmands Forbundet, August 8, 1919, deplored the fact that Prof. Dahle "in his hard battle for existence had never had the quiet for work so necessary for a composer." He added:

> It is truly too bad that we Norwegian-Americans must allow our highly gifted men to wear themselves out in the battle for daily bread...Dahle's bright outlook on life is at low ebb because of the stress of the times. He has prepared feasts for thousands of people. But how little feasting there is for him who must wear himself out for a small salary in his declining years....

Skørdalsvold gives some insight into measures which had been taken to provide better circumstances for John Dahle:

> Down through the years many beautiful words have been written about John Dahle's work. But only in the last few years has this appreciation been expressed in a way that would materially assist him in meeting life's exegencies. A few years ago the pastors and students arranged for festival occasions, which brought Prof. Dahle

---

[9] J. J. Skørdalsvold, "John Dahle," in Valdreser i Amerika, p. 92.

> $800 in money and an oil painting of himself; this now hangs in a special room at Luther Seminary alongside paintings of some of the Norwegian Church's most outstanding men.[10]

Another work written under the pressure of time was the Luther College Festival Cantata (1921). Dahle had only two weeks' time in which to compose the work which was to be presented at Luther College's 60th Anniversary Celebration. The time was so short that he didn't even have time to re-read the complete score. He admitted that he had been greatly inspired by Pastor Paul Koren's text.

A short instrumental overture introduced the principal theme of the work which was also used for the Soli Deo Gloria theme of the closing chorus. A solemn, chorale-like setting built on this theme formed a worthy introduction to the cantata. A short introduction led into the cantata's first number, The Pioneers, made up of three stanzas. Each of these was sung first by a soloist and was then repeated by the chorus. The music for the first stanza, "All Hail to Our Fathers, the Brave Pioneers" was a simple, lively melody. The second stanza dealt with the struggle and sacrifices of the pioneers; the music, therefore, was characteristically darker, in keeping with the text. The melody of the third stanza was similar, in part, to that of the first, but it ended with a slow, solemn setting of the words "God Heard Their Prayers As His Wisdom Saw Fit." An interlude based on the first line of the chorale "Now Thank We All Our God" followed. The second number of the cantata was "Luther College Appreciation." It began with a solo with the above-named chorale skillfully introduced in the accompaniment--and led into a number for women's voices, interrupted by a jubilant full choir, and closed by a return of the women's chorus. Laudamus, the third number, was a beautiful song of praise, which picked up the theme of the opening chorale. The frequent use of the "Now Thank We All Our God" theme was significant throughout. On the whole the cantata was well conceived and inspirational in its musical and poetical thought.

---

[10] J. J. Skørdalsvold, p. 98.

In his interesting sketch of the life of John Dahle, Skørdalsvold gives an interesting glimpse of John Dahle's work habits:

> When there is nothing which has to be done at such and such a time, he takes things quite easy; but if things pile up which must be done within a certain time limit and if, in addition, he gets into the mood for working--then a rasende hast comes into his efforts and an astonishing amount of work is done in a short time. It is easy to understand that such a way of working is hard on the strength. It is not a question of so many hours of overtime for a day or two; no--at times it becomes a kind of forced march which lasts several days--at times for weeks. But this method of working can certainly be very productive.[11]

The Liturgical Service of the Lutheran Church.--The work edited and arranged by John Dahle and M. Casper Johnshoy was published in 1922. It was modelled on Lindeman's Messebog but some significant changes were made. Musical settings were provided for the full Order of Morning Service, the Complete Communion Service, and for the Collects of the ancient Church, first published in Lutheran Hymnary, 1913. Dr. O. E. Brandt in the preface to the work wrote: "Ever since the Hymnary appeared the wish has been expressed by pastors that these ancient Collects might receive a musical setting of the type with which our people have become familiar through the use of the Norwegian Collects." Dahle and Johnshoy's work fulfilled this wish, and their liturgical book provided pastors and organists with a convenient manual which included all necessary materials for the Altar Service, except the Gospel and Epistle Lessons. The Collects which appeared for the first time in a liturgical service book of the Norwegian Lutheran Church were given both Norwegian and English texts. Since these Ancient Collects had never been translated into Norwegian, the editors supplied Norwegian texts so that they might also be used for the Norwegian worship service still regularly conducted by the Church. Organ accompaniments were provided for all the musical parts of the liturgical service, not only for the congregational responses as in the Lutheran Hymnary. The Collects were set to Luther Chants as were the Lord's Prayer, the Words of Institution and Benediction.[12] On the whole, the harmonizations were in keeping with the spirit of the texts; however, the long, flowing lines of the Chant were at times disturbed and obscured by the frequent chord changes and cadence points underlined by ever recurring seventh chords. In the Ordination Service Music, the first stanza of Luther's Komm heiliger Geist, Herre Gott was used. The first line was to be chanted by the pastor after which the congregation joined in the singing of the old chorale melody.

---

[11] J. J. Skørdalsvold, pp. 91-92.

---

[12] See G. Cartford's study, "Music in the Norwegian Lutheran Church: A Study of Its Development in Norway and Its Transfer to America, 1825-1917," (Unpublished Ph.D. Diss., University of Minnesota, 1961), for post-Reformation liturgical books in Denmark and Norway and especially Ludvig M. Lindeman's Norsk Messebog, which influenced several chant books published in America.

Memorable Occurrences.--In 1922, Skørdalsvold had paid John Dahle a visit at the Theological Seminary where he had been in residence since 1917. This is an account of the visit:

> It was a clear, winter evening early in January 1922. His rooms were on the second floor of the southwest corner of Luther Seminary's beautiful building. "Come here and you will see Minneapolis," he said. The thousands of electric lights competed with the stars in the sky as they sparkled in the quiet winter night. And here John Dahle had permission to live. Besides there was a bedroom. "But come and see my bath room." There was a rather large, convenient and exceedingly fine bathroom which was for his own use and no one else's... "They are very good to me," he said. For the first time he had an organ in his study. "Up to now I have been able to get around very easily and could go here and there to use an organ which was available." Then he sat down and played for me...Just at this time he was busy working on a book of chant, so he used the organ often...The manuscript for his great work "Our Treasury of Hymns" lay in a big pile. It was written in pencil, but was exceptionally neat and easy to read...At first glance one gets the impression that Prof. Dahle is beginning to show his age. But only touch on a subject in which he is vitally interested,--and what doesn't he take interest in--and immediately one has forgotten his age. That which made the greatest

> impression on me was his gratitude to those who had made it possible for him to be so comfortable. His face beamed when he talked about it. It was like mild sunshine after a long, stormy day. He almost congratulated himself on this happy turn in life's circumstances and added in a soft voice--"As far as I am concerned, I think I have done my most satisfying work since the union of 1917."

His work at Luther Theological Seminary, where a Chair in Hymnology and Church Music had been created for him included teaching singing, chant, and church music. In 1920 he was asked to lecture on church music at a summer school for pastors, which was attended by many of the leading professors and pastors. One of these lectures "Luther and Latin Church Song" was later published in Teologisk Tidsskrift for January 1921. Prof. Dahle mentioned as an exceptional mark of honor that shortly before his death Prof. J. N. Kildahl had thanked him especially for this lecture. In 1921 he also gave two lectures at the summer school session for pastors. He experienced considerable anxiety during the preparation of these discussions; but when they were so well received, he was only the happier afterward.

For thirty-two years Prof. Dahle had directed the choir at Christ Church, St. Paul, and with the exception of a few years he had been constant in his service. Skørdalsvold says:

> This was quite a record in such a restless city congregation as ours. Just this is a record which a good man has the right to be proud of. This winter the choir gave a party in his honor and when he came home at midnight he was too happy to sleep. He stayed up to write some poetry until he was relaxed enough to rest!

Prof. Dahle was granted a leave of absence by the Seminary in the spring of 1922, at which time he visited Norway for the second time since his emigration. He showed me a letter which he had received from Sigurd Folkestad, Nordmands Forbundets Secretary:

> Finally--O what joy!--My wife shouted "Hurrah" when I called her by telephone to tell her the news. How we shall look forward to seeing you when you come! We shall take a trip to Valdris and begin the preparations for the Valdris Sambands trip to Norway. Bring along the music for your Cantata. It must be performed here in 1923. Let me know which boat you are arriving on and I shall be on the pier to greet you. If there is no time to write send me a telegram collect... God be with you!

A far less appreciative soul than Prof. Dahle's would have been stirred by such a letter of welcome.

Sigurd Folkestad met the Stavanger fjord on March 8, 1922, to welcome Prof. John Dahle. On the initiative of Nordmands Forbundet the Valdris lag in Christiania had arranged a reception for John Dahle at the Misses Mørdres Hotel on March 11. On March 14, at a festival at Fagernes, he presented a portrait of Prof. A. A. Veblen, sent by the members of Valdris Samband through Nordmands Forbundet to the Museum there.[13] During his stay in Norway, he represented the Valdris people of America as a member of a committee to plan the Anniversary festivities commemorating the 900th Anniversary of the introduction of Christianity to Valdris. The Cantata which he had written for the occasion was still in manuscript, but it was given its premiere performance at Fagernes under John Dahle's direction.[14] The visit to Norway also gave him an opportunity to do some added research in preparation for his forthcoming publication of the Library of Christian Hymns. To crown this memorable year in his life, he was signally honored when the King of Norway created him a Knight of the Order of St. Olaf.[15]

---

[13] Nordmands Forbundet, XV (1922), p.197.

Library of Christian Hymns.-Among the Dahle papers extant at Luther Theological Seminary are a few pages of John Dahle's original manuscript for his three volume work the Library of Christian Hymns. The pencilled notes are very neatly and legibly written in Norwegian. His collaborator, M. Casper Johnshoy, translated his work for publication in English. The volumes were published 1924-1927. This was Dahle's crowning achievement and his last published work. The translator's preface states that the volumes contained "a history of the hymns used by the Lutheran Churches of America" and that Dahle had "followed the order of hymns as found in the Lutheran Hymnary." The project was a momentous undertaking for a man approaching his seventies.

Volume one (1924) gave the history of a comparatively small number of hymns because the major hymn writers included in Hymnary were introduced "within the first 200 hymns" and "more extensive biographical sketches were in order," explained Johnshoy. Dahle established the original sources of the texts and melodies, if these were known. He gave the names of collections in which the various hymns had first been published, gave data on the translators of hymns, and the origins of the melodies together with the hymns with which they were originally identified. He relied on Julian, Winkworth, Neale, Skaar, and Bang as authoritative sources.

---

[14] The Cantata is not extant. Nordmands Forbundet, XV (1922), p. 124 gives an account of Dahle's activities in preparation for the historical Church festival.

[15] Decorah Posten, November 24, 1922, has the announcement of this event together with a short sketch of John Dahle's life and work.

The early Norwegian pioneers brought their Guldberg (1778) and Balle (1797) hymnals with them when they came to America. By the seventies Landstad's salmebog was the most popular in all the Norwegian Lutheran Churches, with the exception of the Norwegian Synod which published its own hymnal called Synodens salmebog.[16] Dahle hoped that the history of the hymns which had been a part of the Norwegian Church from its beginnings, as well as those of a later tradition included in Hymnary would give a broader and deeper understanding of the hymn literature used by the Lutheran Churches in America and an awareness of their importance to the Church itself. Since many of the hymns were used by all Christians, it was hoped that the work would "commend itself to all sincere worshipers who had learned to love the hymns of the church," states the preface.

---

16 The Preface to The Lutheran Hymnary Junior (1916) lists the hymnals commonly used by the immigrants in America.

There was some unevenness in the amount of biographical material included, with Landstad receiving the most coverage in an eight page sketch of his life and work. Volumes two (1926) and three (1927) had cross references with page and volume number to refer to authors or composers discussed earlier. The Library of Christian Hymns was the last of John Dahle's published works. It was the first such hymnological work published by a Norwegian-American and brought to a triumphant close his life-long effort in behalf of the congregational hymn and chorale.

Recognition by His Contemporaries.--Skandinaven, December 9, 1927, had a long article reviewing John Dahle's many contributions to Norwegian-American Church Music. The occasion for it may have been in recognition of his impending seventy-fifth birthday.

In 1929, The Daughters of the Norse-American Centennial honored Prof. Dahle at a reception. It was the year in which he was to retire from active service at Luther Theological Seminary. A tribute given by Dr. O. B. Brandt of the Seminary and broadcast over Radio Station KSTP on this occasion pointed out the difficulty of summarizing the accomplishments of John Dahle in so brief a sketch:

> Our guest of honor is almost as versatile as the district of Norway from which he came, Valdres, which comprises almost every element of scenic beauty, from the charming valleys along the serene fjords and flashing rivers up through mighty forests to the gleaming battlements of Jotunheimen. To group all these features into one painting is

> practically impossible. In like manner one feels baffled in the endeavor to cover in one sketch the many-sided personality and lifework of Professor Dahle.[17]

When John Dahle attended the Choral Union Convention at Duluth in 1929, he was one of three upon whom honorary directorships were conferred "for distinguished service in the field of church music and choir work." One is tempted to speculate on the long thoughts which he must have had as he listened to the massed choirs and the solo performances of the Concordia, Park Region, and Waldorf College Choirs. To know that the cause to which he had dedicated a life time of service was being brought to ever higher goals of realization must have touched the very heart and soul of John Dahle...It was to be the last such Choral Union Festival he would attend, for he died in August, 1931. He was buried from Christ Church in St. Paul, where he had served as organist and church director. Pastor S. T. Reque conducted the services, and Christ Church Choir sang _Herren er min Hyrde_, one of Dahle's best known compositions. Dr. O. E. Brandt spoke in behalf of Luther Theological Seminary, Pastor J. C. K. Preus, on behalf of the Board of Education of the Church, and Dr. F. Melius Christiansen, on behalf of the Choral Union and St. Olaf College.[18] On November 30, 1931, a memorial service was held at Luther Theological Seminary. The main address, "The Ministry of Music," was given by Dr. F. Melius Christiansen.[19]

---

[17] Dr. Brandt's speech is included in the Appendix.

[18] Lutheran Herald, XV (August 11, 1931).

John Dahle Memorial Concert.--The Choral Union in joint convention with the Young People's Luther League met at Fargo, North Dakota, in 1933. The concert given by the Choral Union was a memorial to John Dahle and was the first such concert ever to be broadcast over radio. Dr. N. M. Ylvisaker in "The Story of the Fargo Convention" had the following comments:

> The grand chorus sang (John Dahle's) favorite composition: "My Soul Now Bless Thy Maker." The power and beauty of this majestic composition was here heard at its best as 2,600 singers sang it as it has never been sung before....It seemed that John Dahle had come out of his grave to sing praises to his Redeemer. The Rev. M. Casper Johnshoy gave a touching tribute to his former teacher in the memorial address which was a feature of this concert.[20]

Dr. P. M. Glasoe, president of the Choral Union, wrote a tribute to John Dahle which emphasized his role as a pioneer in the area of choral singing:

> Professor Dahle pioneered in the field of Choral singing, using the word in its strictest sense. When he began, there were neither music available nor choirs to sing it. He began over fifty years ago to publish choir music, making available some of the finer classical songs, as well as writing a large number of original anthems.
>
> We who can look at the situation in perspective can see what Dahle's work did for the Church. The congregations and choirs that followed his lead and sang his type of high-class music are on a high plane of musical appreciation today.[21]

---

[19] Lutheran Herald, XV (November 24, 1931).

[20] Quoted in J.C.K. Preus, History of the Choral Union, p. 91.

[21] Quoted in J.C.K. Preus, p. 91.

## John Dahle's Philosophy

Among John Dahle's papers is an address given before a Young People's Society group in which he makes a plea that young people share their talents in support of their church music. It epitomizes his philosophy. An excerpt follows:

> Dear Young People: Let us honor and serve our own Church, which is but giving thanks for all the beauty this home gives to us. Let us give to it our best abilities...One of the most glorious treasures of the Lutheran Church is its song and music. Young people should cherish and elevate this heritage so that it might radiate in all its beauty. Many of our most cherished melodies have been heard in congregational meetings for hundreds of years. They have sounded on the lips of martyrs, and generation after generation has sung them from childhood to death. Love for our church music will grow with use. It should be used more in the home, so that good music might become a power in everyday living.
>
> There is a musical composition called a fugue. A single voice introduces a theme which is taken up by all the other voices, one after another. It is varied in the most diverse ways. It is stated and restated; it rises and falls--all in agreement with higher laws and principles leading gradually to fullness and beauty. Congregational life is such a fugue. Its theme has been received from God. There sound, sometimes in major chords, glad songs of praise; sometimes the plaintive yearning of the minor chords; sometimes the dissonance of sorrow. The Sunday School and Ladies' Aid and Church Choir and Young People's Society are the foremost concordances in this church fugue. Are we in tune with these chords? The church's fugue ends not with time. No, it is united as the brook with the rushing flood to the anthems of praise which sound eternally in the home beyond, where our voices also shall sing along, if we have found the song here.

# IX

# "IN RETROSPECT"

Almost one hundred years have passed since John Dahle first came to America. To look back upon the time in which he lived and worked here is almost like taking a journey to a strange land or to a place revisited after a long absence only to discover the semblance of few familiar things. The Middle West Norwegian-American communities to which John Dahle came late in the 1870's tended to be somewhat isolated colonies living in a world apart from the native American culture. In this restricted world they tried to perpetuate and preserve their Old World culture and language and to transfer it to their children. Nearly all were Lutherans who had been reared in the Norwegian State Church and who had established churches in the settlements in America in accordance with the pattern of their previous experience. Having wrestled with the problems of existence, of acquiring homes and land and establishing churches and schools, the pioneers had little inclination nor time for intellectual or cultural pursuits. In America, the church became the center of their social, cultural and spiritual life. In spite of their "apartness" there were many influences which impinged on them and their children. Not the least of these in religious matters was the influence of the evangelical sects' camp meetings with their stress on lay participation and personal religious involvement, with their music rhythmically and sentimentally appealing.

John Dahle became acutely aware of the tempo of life in America, of its restless pace, and its rapidly developing business civilization. As so many other immigrants, he felt culturally lost. His first experiences as organist and choir director in Norwegian Lutheran Churches in America made him realize the lack of good music suitable for church choirs, the need for improvement in congregational singing, and the need to instill pride, especially among the children and youth, in their glorious heritage of Lutheran hymns and chorales. Almost from the beginning he began the task of making song and music an uplifting medium, an instructive and elevating element among the Norwegian-American communities in America. He had a keen mind, a strongly creative bent, and a capacity for unflagging effort. After only a five year residence in America, he published his first collection for church choirs. The simple four part homophonic music featured music by past and present Scandinavian and German masters. Many other collections followed, all of which were designed to build a taste for good music, and to develop a sense of discrimination among its users and thereby to counteract the influence of the rhythmically light, sentimental, and lively American compositons being written by Norwegian-American composers in imitation of the gospel hymns sung at revival meetings.

One of his contemporaries has summed up his contribution in this respect as follows: "This man has done much for our church in America and few there are who realize the importance of it. He published good church music at the time we needed some counterforce to stem the tide of an overwhelming influx of gospel tunes and trash."[1]

To modern ears the arrangements of *a cappella* song materials included in John Dahle's early collections seem antedated and reminiscent of a by-gone era. Yet these collections undoubtedly served a valuable purpose in acquainting the generation for which they were designed with classical music and especially in stimulating interest in choral singing at a time when musical art was in a formative stage. The texts of all his early collections were Norwegian, the language used by his church.

As a musical pioneer John Dahle battled indifference, musical illiteracy, and conservative attitudes regarding the arts. Through his critical and didactic articles in *Norsk Amerikansk Musiktidende* (1890-91) *Musiktidende* (1895) and *Nordvesten* he pinpointed problems which, he felt, called for remedies if the church and community wanted to improve the quality of its music. He urged the creation of music departments in Lutheran church colleges to develop musicians who could serve the needs of the church and community through their training as organists, choral directors, and vocalists; he undertook the instruction of the congregation and especially of the young people in the hymns and liturgy of the church through co-operation with the pastor in special song services designed to be both devotional and instructional; he presented sacred concerts to stimulate the community's interest in good church music and appealed to other church choir directors to follow his example; he advocated a liberalization of the older conservative viewpoint on the use of musical instruments in the church; he invited the attention of church leaders, choir directors, and other musicians to the value of organizing song festivals to stimulate improvement in church singing; he castigated a materialistic society which neglected to recognize the beautiful, enduring, and human values inherent in the arts; he appealed to his countrymen to help preserve the best in Norwegian musical culture that it might become "an abiding asset in American culture."

---

[1] F. Melius Christiansen, "Tempo in Hymn Singing," in *Lutheran Church Herald*, XV (Oct. 6, 1931), p. 1275.

Through the publication of Norwegian folk songs and art songs for the Norwegian-American male chorus, John Dahle consistently focused attention on the contemporary Norwegian and Norwegian-American composer and recommended the performance of their works. He also recommended using both a cappella works and selections requiring orchestral accompaniment in programming a song festival; for this was in keeping with the tradition of Norway's male chorus festival programs. In addition, his work as a voice instructor, as a director of male choruses, as a critic of performances and materials,--all exerted a positive influence in promoting the Norwegian-American male chorus movement and establishing it as an integral part of America's cultural life.

Although John Dahle composed hymn tunes, children's songs, church choir anthems, and cantatas, he was not a gifted composer. Many of his anthems are in the nineteenth century romantic tradition and have rich harmonic color; others give evidence of his Norwegian background; a few reflect the style and influence of the New World evangelical spirit. His compositions are well constructed pieces in four part homophonic style, but, on the whole, are not significant works. Composition was not his forte. It was, therefore, not as a composer that he made his contribution to Norwegian-American church music. It was rather as the publisher of the first church choir collections, as a director of church choirs, as the founder of the Norwegian Synod Choral Union and the church song festival movement in general, as the revered professor of hymnology and chant at Luther Theological Seminary, as a co-editor of The Lutheran Hymnary, as the author of The Library of Christian Hymns, and as the indefatigable worker in behalf of church music through his organizational abilities, publications, song collections, inspired interpretations as a choral director, and insistence on high standards in choice of repertoire, and the manner of its performance that he made his greatest contribution to Norwegian-American Lutheran Church Music in the mid-west.

John Dahle's career is somewhat analagous to that of Lowell Mason. Gilbert Chase summarizes Lowell Mason's contribution as follows: "It is not as a composer, but as an organizer, a musical empire builder that Lowell Mason claims our attention. He exerted a decisive and lasting influence on the course of musical activity in the United States.[2] John Dahle built a musical empire within the Norwegian-American Lutheran Church. He may, therefore, rightfully be regarded as the Lowell Mason of Norwegian-American Lutheran music in America.

---

[2] Gilbert Chase, America's Music: From the Pilgrims to the Present (New York, 1955), p. 160.

# APPENDICES

# APPENDIX A

Kirketidende. Vol. 33, No. 13, March 28, 1906, pp. 339-343.

## How Our Hymns Ought To Be Sung

John Dahle

### Part One

For a long time our hymns have been sung with heavy, sluggish and dragging tempos which are not appealing, and justifiable complaints have frequently been expressed about our poor congregational singing. Considerable progress has been made in the last few years, thanks to a number of our pastors and church choirs, but the singing still leaves much to be desired. In most country churches the singing is just as slow and drawling as ever, while in some city congregations much faster tempos have come into use. As is often the case when some reform is being initiated, people go to extremes. Every now and then hymns are sung at such a rapid tempo that the main objective seems to be to finish the singing as rapidly as possible. This is even more objectionable than singing the hymns too slowly because the devout, churchly characteristic of the hymns is often effaced or destroyed by too rapid a tempo. Often the various hymns and melodies are sung at the same tempo without regard to the content of the hymns or the characteristics of the melodies. Tempo should be established according to the golden mean and must be varied according to the character of the hymns and the melodies.

There seem to be many different ideas about how our hymns should be sung not only in regard to the tempo but also in regard to the rhythm and other factors. We are in a sort of confusing transition period in that we are experimenting with the various rhythmic and melodic forms of the chorales as well as with various forms of the liturgy. The confusion is intensified through the many different song and chorale books which have been published in the last years,--English as well as Norwegian--for congregational and Sunday School use--all of which, in spite of the fact that they contain much good and useful material, show more or less the work of unskilled people who have not been equal to their task. I shall not waste words on those which may be most nearly described as "hack work." Let me instead make some comments on the best and most used chorale books, especially Lindeman's.

Jensen's Koralbog has been much used and has done good service. Since it is obviously reprinted from Lindeman's Koralbog it naturally has the same excellencies and deficiencies as Lindeman's,which also is published and used by the United Church, with a number of added melodies (some good, some less so). I do not deny that Lindeman's Koralbog is a master work in every respect. (I shall not now dwell upon the less successful additions and changes which it has undergone over here). Whether or not Lindeman's harmonic treatment of the old chorales, his established measured and melodic form is the most successful and best for congregational use is a matter of opinion even among authorities on the subject. Lindeman's characteristically changed rhythm gives many of the old melodies a new and strange quality, different from the original. Dotted notes "to enliven the melody" are used too much and also seem to be somewhat voluntarily applied. This makes the notes more difficult to learn especially for those who sing by ear. His rhythm can be mastered more easily in Norway where note reading is learned in the parish schools. It cannot be denied that the dotted notes in some cases enliven and beautify the melody; but as a rule they are not a satisfying substitute for the old rhythmic form. The constant use of dotted notes associated with Lindeman's harmonizations has put a distinctive stamp on all the melodies, old and new, found in other Koral books, so that one involuntarily exclaims "Too much Lindeman!" The effect is a homogeneousness of sound which in the long run becomes monotonous and tiring, even though one must admit that in Lindeman's hands the work is that of a master. It has been my experience that the results of using the Lindeman dotted style in our country are that very few use it correctly; some ignore the dotted style completely while still others put the dots in the wrong places.

In some respects Christian Hymns published by our Synod is better; but the liturgical portion here is very incomplete.

In this book the chorales are in their old rhythmic form, which the Synod in recent times has tried to re-introduce into the Church. This is one merit of Christian Hymns, but the attempt to combine the old rhythmic forms with Lindeman's harmonizations is not always successful. Lindeman would have used a different harmonization in combination with the old rhythm. The rhythmic chorale needs rather a harmonization in the style of the era to which it belongs....It is unfortunate that the same chorales in these two books have different melodies. Let us hope that this situation will soon be corrected.

It is a step in the right direction that our denomination is making an effort to re-introduce the rhythmic chorale. Lutheran chorales from the time of the Reformation and the following century (which has been called the golden age of choral singing) have become corrupted, have lost their original spirit and freshness, and a monotonous, stiff chorale music has taken their place. Just as in using the so-called "new liturgy," we are not introducing anything new but are drawing upon an ancient heritage which has belonged to the church and the congregations from times immemorial, so in re-introducing the rhythmic chorales we are not introducing anything new to the congregations but are returning to the genuine, original Lutheran Chorale as it sounded at the time of the Reformation. In working for the restoration of the rhythmic chorale we work for the purifying of the ancient, glorious church melodies so that they will be heard in their original, individual, pure beauty.

There is no doubt that the rhythmic chorale contributes to giving more spirit and variety to congregational singing and to making the musical part of the worship service more appealing and pleasurable. Those who have given both forms a thorough trial by using them interchangeably in church will surely confirm this. There were many leading church men and musicians in Norway at the time Lindeman's Koralbog came out who were eager to have the old rhythmic chorales retained, and had there been an opportunity for a thorough test of both types of chorales in the churches, the results would probably have been different there too.

Rhythm actually denotes regularly measured movement and to this extent all singing is rhythmical. But speaking of the old rhythmic chorale we refer to the original measured form which consists of a regular use of long and short notes, or of different species of time in one and the same melody, according to ancient rules of time....

We are, as stated, in a time of transition. Many are perplexed and do not know which books should preferably be used nor how the chorales should be sung. The sooner we can achieve greater unity and consistency in regard to Norwegian and English hymn singing and liturgy the better. The matter is important. This is especially true for our singing youth. Of late years a considerable amount of work has been done within the Synod in behalf of church singing, but it has not been extensive enough. More must be done. Far from sufficient training in church singing and music is being given at our colleges. Thorough and systematic training in church singing and organ should be offered at the denomination's teachers' training seminaries and a pipe organ should be provided for this purpose. When we prepare books, hymn or Sunday School song books, in Norwegian or English, we should work carefully and thoroughly. It does not matter if the project takes several years, if the end result will be found serviceable. The first thing the Synod should publish now is a Norwegian and English hymnal with music similar to the English hymnals being used by American denominations. These books should have the same melodies and the same form (and obviously only one form) in respect to the melody and rhythm. There could be two or more different settings of each of the most often used chorales; but the rhythm and melody should as a rule be the same. There could also well be two or three committees to check the work and as much competent help as there would be means to engage. Revisions should be sent to all interested persons who desired to see them so that the work could be examined and criticized thoroughly until it finally evolved into a book "authorized for church use." Hymnbooks with music would give a powerful impulse to church singing. We should have had them a long time ago. But for the present it must be our duty to do the best we can with the materials which are at hand. Therefore, may I be permitted to give some practical suggestions about how our hymns ought be sung.

Consideration will be given to Lindeman's *Koralbog* as well as to the two books published by the Synod, *Christian Hymns* and the *Rhytmisk Koralbog*. Since I plan to indicate tempos according to Maelzel's metronome, every interested person should provide himself with one. It can be bought in any large music store for a few dollars. A metronome, or a tempo indicator, is a small instrument with a dial plate, pendulum, and clock mechanism, which is wound like a clock. The pendulum swings faster or slower according to how the indicator is moved to a higher or lower number.

Kirketidende. Vol. 33, No. 16, April 18, 1906, pp. 427-430.

# How Our Hymns Ought To Be Sung

John Dahle

## Part Two

In many cases the old rhythm is in triple meter, while more recent hymn tunes in the newer, corrupted form are in duple meter. Triple meter, as a rule, demands a quite rapid tempo, although the tempo must be in accord with the character of the hymn and the rhythmic form of the music. Let us consider the hymn, Lover den Herre ("Praise to the Lord"), which has the same rhythmic form in all of the chorale books under consideration. It should be sung animatedly because of the character of the hymn. It is a hymn of praise and the melody is admirably adapted to the thought of the hymn. There should be spirit and joy in its performance. There is also another reason that it should be sung in a fast tempo. Each line of verse has one or two long notes and rests at the end of the line. If the melody is sung slowly, the congregation will not give the long end notes and rests the time values which the measure demands but will shorten them and begin the next line too soon. The rhythm or measure is thereby violated. This must be prevented; the measure should be rhythmically complete. Set the metronome's indicator on the number 92 and put the pendulum in motion. This will indicate the speed of the quarter note. The metronome will give an audible beat as it swings back and forth,--three beats to the measure. This is the fastest tempo which should be used. For a large singing festival or a large congregation 84 is about right. But all is not learned with the setting of a correct tempo. The first note in every measure must be accented or stressed. This must not be overdone. In a sense it should correspond to the correct stress of the accented syllables in good reading. However, in singing, the stress must be felt more than heard. This is a significant factor in hymn singing. To put strong emphasis on every single syllable is a mistake common to a careless manner of singing the hymns. Everyone who teaches choral music should emphasize correct stress. The next thing important to good singing is that breath is taken at the right places. As a rule, a line of poetry is sung in one breath. If this cannot be done, one should at least try to sing a complete sentence, or a complete part of a sentence in one breath. It is obvious that a new breath may be taken at the rests. Furthermore, correct enunciation should be emphasized.

Another melody in $\frac{3}{4}$ time, also the same in all the chorale books is *Jesu, din søde forening at smage* ("Jesus, I Long for Thy Blessed Communion"). Here is a hymn which is a prayer, written in the same meter as the above named hymn.

This melody does not have the light, cheerful character of the former but has more fervour. It should be sung more slowly and somewhat gently,--more slowly because some of the lines have short end notes, which give little time for taking a breath and beginning the next verse line on the beat. Set the metronome at 76. This then indicates ♩ = 76. I mentioned that the hymn should be sung gently. One should never sing forcibly or screamingly and least of all when one sings a hymn of prayer. It is certainly not edifying to hear any one bellowing out a hymn such as the above.

Let us next examine the lovely hymn *Hvo ikkun lader Herren raade* ("If Thou but Suffer God to Guide Thee"). This hymn should be sung somewhat faster than the above. The hymn breathes such confidence, abandonment to the will of God, and trust. The longer end notes at the close of each verse line give the necessary time for taking a breath. The quarter note ♩= 84. According to Lindeman's *Koralbog*, the quarter note ♩ = 72 a 76. How much this melody gains by being sung as a rhythmic chorale! Only then does one realize that it is one of the best hymn melodies ever composed. I should like to tell the beautiful story about Georg Neumark and the origin of his hymn and its melody, but space does not permit. It is said that about 400 hymns have been composed to this melody over a period of a hundred years.

*Jeg vil din pris udsjunge* ("I Will Sing Thy Praise"), has the same character as the first named hymn "Praise to the Lord."

The *Rhytmisk Koralbog* settings should be sung even faster, mainly because of the long rests between several of the verse lines. (M.M. ♩ = 104 a 108). In Lindeman's *Koralbog* the tempo is ♩ = 72 a 76. The ancient hymn of praise *Aleneste Gud i himmerig* ("All Glory Be to God on High"), is sung in its original rhythm as a three beat melody. The hymn contains the song of praise of the early church and has been sung by congregations since the early days of the church. The hymn's first stanza, the *Gloria*, the angels' song of praise, is said to have been introduced as a part of the liturgy by the Roman bishop, Telosphorus ca. 126. The second stanza, the *Laudamus, Vi lover dig* ("We praise Thee"), etc. (see the hymn's remaining stanzas) was added somewhat later, possibly in the fourth century. This hymn should be sung comparatively slower, (♩ = 72 a 76). In Lindeman's *Koralbog*, where the setting of the hymn is in $\frac{4}{4}$ time, the tempo should be (M.M. ♩ = 60).

Other melodies in triple meter which should be sung at about the same tempo are: *Store Profet med den himmelske laere* ("Great Prophet with the Heavenly Teaching"), *Der mange skal komme fra øst og fra vest* ("There Many Shall Come from the East and the West"), and Lindeman's *Sorrig og glaede, de vandre tilhobe* ("Sorrow and Gladness They Wander Together"). The tempo of "Sorrow and Gladness" in *Rhytmisk Koralbog* is ♩ = 76 a80. For the hymns *Kirken den er et gammelt hus* ("Built on a Rock the Church Doth Stand"), and *Min Sjael lov Herren* ("Praise the Lord, O My Soul"), in *Rhytmisk Koralbog* the tempo ♩ = 84 a 92 is correct. The tempo of the last named hymn in Lindeman's *Koralbog* is ♩ = 60 a 66. The tempo of *Synge vi af hjertens grund* (" Our Hearts Now Sing to Thee"), and *Mit Haab og trøst og al tillid* ("My Hope and Comfort, Confidence"), both In*Rhytmisk Koralbog* is ♩ = 84 a 88. In Lindeman's *Koralbog*, the tempo of the first is ♩ = 66; of the second is ♩ = 60.--- *Frisk op, min Sjael* ("Rejoice, My Soul"), *Rhytmisk Koralbog*, ♩ =92; Lindeman's *Koralbog*, ♩ = 60.--- *Jeg synger julekvad* ("Now Sing We, Now Rejoice"), ♩ = 92 a 96.

Jeg ved et evigt himmerig ("I Know An Eternal Kingdom"), in *Rhytmisk Koralbog* is in $\frac{3}{2}$ time; here a beat is given to each half note, with three half notes in a measure. Also notice the tempo: 𝅗𝅥 = 54. In Lindeman's *Koralbog*, ♩ = 63. The melodies which have alternating half notes and quarter notes are easier to sing and, as a rule, require a faster tempo than those which are made up exclusively of quarter notes. Compare *Jeg synger julekvad* and *Store Profet*. The long holds at the ends of the sentences should be held for their full value.

Many will perhaps find the tempos given above too fast for most of the chorales mentioned. But many years of experience have taught me that these melodies not only tolerate but also require this fast a tempo in order to be correctly interpreted, always, of course, based on the assumption that they are sung correctly otherwise, with correct stress and suitable dynamics.

The tempos given here are too fast for those who sing forcefully or screechingly or with the same strong emphasis on each syllable. Such singing is not unknown among us. It is not only Luther who can speak of experiencing "the crude donkey cries in chorale singing." There might be those who deserve a similar fate to that of a member of an English city congregation, who was arrested on the charge that he interfered with the congregation's devotions because of his ear splitting singing, from which he was unable to desist in spite of the pastor's and the brothers' repeated admonitions. Choral singing is often spoken about appreciatively as having been presented with such power, emphasis, and force that it has literally raised the roof. Now it must be admitted that it can be impressive and inspiring to hear powerful choral singing by a tremendously large group of a thousand or more. One does not notice the hard, shouting voices then. The total effect may be magnificent. Then also the slower tempos have their place. But this is an exception. As a rule our singing groups are small and it should be remembered that the very strong, forceful singing which we so often hear---and not least among the pastors---is objectionable. If one would like to do something to beautify and improve congregational singing he should begin by putting an end to this unlovely loud manner of singing... and apply himself instead toward bringing mellowness, fervour, and warmth into his singing and toward teaching others to do likewise. Then we shall find singing congregations! Then it will be easier to get the young people to join in the singing. Then gradually there will be fewer silent church goers. This generation's feeling for beauty develops from day to day and is always demanding higher requirements in regard to good tone, rhythm, and harmony. It is obvious that all hymns should not be sung equally loud. Hymns such as "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God" and "Praise to the Lord" require a more powerful performance than "In Jesus I Find Rest and Peace," "O Darkest Woe," "Abide in Grace, Lord Jesus," for example, which should be sung softly and gently. In the next article we shall look at some of the hymns which require a slower tempo.

*Kirketidende.* Vol. 33, No. 17, April 25, 1906, pp. 455-458.

# How Our Hymns Ought To Be Sung

John Dahle

## Part Three

Lindeman indicates in the preface to his *Koralbog* that M.M. ♩ = 60 "or a little less depending on the circumstances" is a suitable tempo for the chorales. This is a rather fast tempo for most of the Lindeman chorales, especially when one considers that Lindeman is thinking of large congregations like his own in "Our Saviour's Church." The tempo indication is, however, misleading. The melodies in Lindeman's *Koralbog* are of such different character that there must be a considerable differentiation in tempo. Such hymns as *Naglet til et kors paa jorden* ("O World, Behold! Upon the Tree"), in which the tempo should be approximately ♩ = 52 contrasted with *Lover den Herre* ("Praise to the Lord"), (see above) and *Vaagn op og slaa paa dine strenge* ("Awake, My Soul in Joyful Lays"), ♩ = 72 demonstrate this. For most of the hymns in Lindeman's book "60 or a little less" is about the right tempo. This serves to illustrate the rhythmic monotony of Lindeman's *Koralbog*. The *Rhytmisk Koralbog* and *Christian Hymns* offer a variety in this respect in that the tempo varies between 50 and 100 or more, with the rapid, spirited tempo the most common. The characteristic change of beat in the melodies of the rhythmic chorale gives it an individuality which is completely lacking in the usual quarter beat form. There are, however, many hymns which should be sung slowly. We will now examine some of these.

All of our chorale books have a list of "melodies in the same meter." In this list we find a large group of melodies with four iambic lines having four feet in a line (In English, Long Meter), the kind of verse found in *Herre Jesus Krist dig til os vend* ("Lord Jesus Christ, Be Present Now"). In Lindeman's *Koralbog* these melodies have short, accented end notes not followed by rests at the ends of the verse lines; and a slow tempo is absolutely required, so that the improper custom of legthening these end notes will not be allowed to interfere with the beat. The tempos indicated by Lindeman are the fastest which should be used. *Jesu, søde hukommelse* ("Jesus, the Very Thought Is Sweet"), *Lov, Aere, Pris, og Herlighed* ("Praise, Honor, Praise and Glory"), as well as *Kom, Gud og Skaber Helligaand*, ("Come Holy Ghost, Creator Blest"), should be sung more slowly, ♩ = 52. How much most of these hymns gain by singing them as rhythmic chorales! A good illustration of these advantages may be seen in such a melody as, for example, *Naar Vi i største naaden staa* ("When in the Hour of Utmost Need"), (preferably from *Christian Hymns*). The tempo should be 𝅗𝅥 = 52. Other melodies in *Rhytmisk Koralbog* in Long Meter with their metronome markings are: *Behold os, herre, ved dit Ord* ("Lord, Keep us Steadfast in Thy Word"), 𝅗𝅥 = 56 a 60; *Fra himlen høit* ("From Heaven Above"), ♩ = 63 a 66; (The short rests at the end of the lines and the short beginning notes permit a somewhat faster tempo than Lindeman's form); Kom Gud og skaber, Helligaand and Lov, aere, pris og herlighed, ♩ = 66 a 72; O Jesu, din hukommelse, L's form should be used; Rhytmisk Koralbok 108; slow tempo; see above; Saa vidt som himlens bue gaar ("As Far As Heaven's Arches Spread"), ♩= ca. 80. Vaer glad, du hellige kristenhed ("Dear Christians One and All, Rejoice"), Tunes A and B, ♩= 84 a 92.

The rhythmic chorale melody Herre Jesus Krist, dig til os vend ("Lord Jesus Christ, with us Abide"), is perhaps a little more complicated than the others we have considered. The version in Christian Hymns is a little clearer than the one divided into regular beats. It takes a little time to become accustomed to the individual character of the rhythmic form. A few remarks about this form might not be superfluous. According to the old rules of proportion, the whole note, or the large note unit, could be divided into two or into three half note units. The half note could again be subdivided into two or into three quarter notes. Anyone who is somewhat proficient in music will understand that while the note units remain constant, the rhythmic content of the various measures can be somewhat varied in respect to duration and accent according to whether duple or triplesubdivision is used. But in any event, the same kinds of notes have the same values. In the hymn, Herre Krist, dig til os vend, or Jesu, dine dybe vunder ("O What Precious Balm and Healing"), (in *Chr. Hymns*), the first measure has six quarter notes (the half note equals two quarter notes). Now, think of the note unit, the whole note, first being subdivided into two half notes and then being subdivided into three quarter notes. In the second measure the whole note is subdivided into three half notes. The accents will, therefore, be distributed differently, so to speak, in these two kinds of measures, which now appear alternately throughout the entire melody. One cannot, as a result, beat time according to the usual modern rules. One can either use only the down beat and indicate the heavy beats this way or direct as suggested here: (down up), (down, out, up), (down up) etc. The tempo for *Herre Jesus Krist dig til os vend* should be ♩ = 88 a 92.

The following hymns should be sung slowly according to all the chorale books: *Alene til dig, Herre Jesus Krist* ("In Thee Alone O Christ, My Lord"), 𝅗𝅥 = 42; in Lindeman's *Koralbog* ♩ = 52. *O Jesu, for din pine* ("Lord Jesus by Thy Passion"), L. ♩ = 56. *Herre Jesu Krist, min frelser du est,* ♩ = 52, and O hjertens ve ("O Darkest Woe"), ♩ = 56. The last should be sung according to Lindeman's *Koralbog*.

In *Rhytmisk Koralbog* there is a list of "hymns with the same meter whose melodies may be interchanged."--It is certainly true that the melodies could be interchanged; but they ought not to be interchanged. Each hymn should have its own particular melody. There should also be order in this, and it is out of order and not good practice when, for example, the pastor---which frequently happens---comes to ask for a melody because he likes it so well. Another time, another pastor asks for another melody to be sung to the same hymn---one that he especially enjoys etc. Where the organist or *klokker* has free rein, there is the chance of hearing two or three "favorite melodies" used for all 40 or 50 hymns with the same meter, in the hymnbook.

Another large group of hymns having the same meter is those with seven iambic feet in lines containing seven or eight syllables, the type of verse found in *Aleneste Gud*. Lindeman's *Koralbog* has nine such melodies and *Rhytmisk Koralbog* has twelve. These melodies in Lindeman's *Koralbog*, all in a uniform meter, may be taken in the same tempo; ♩ = 60 is the fastest these melodies should be performed. Hymns such as *Af dybsens nød* ("Out of the Depths") and *Naar min tid og stund* ("When in the Hour of Utmost Need"), should preferably be performed a little slower, ♩ = ca. 54.

There is a greater difference in tempo and rendition of the above type of melodies in *Rhytmisk Koralbog*. *Af dybsens nød*, whose rhythmic form in *Christian Hymns* appeals to me most, should also be sung somewhat slow because of the many quarter notes, ♩ = 70. In *Rhytmisk Koralbog*, ♩ = 76. We have already analyzed *Aleneste Gud*. *Enhver som tror og bliver døbt* ("He That Believes and Is Baptized")----the long end notes and rests require a spirited tempo, ♩= 76.

In the hymn *Et trofast hjerte, herre min*, ("A Faithful Heart My Lord"), *Rhytmisk Koralbog* 27, the rhythm would be very satisfying if it were not for the excessively long end notes and rests at the words *vaere and aere*. The half note here should be replaced by a quarter note and the rest omitted. The melody should not be sung fast, ♩ = 52. *Hvad kan os komme til for nød* ("Had not God Come"), in *Rhytmisk Koralbog* has an excellent rhythmic form and harmonic setting. It has a fervour and charm which Lindeman's version lacks completely, ♩ = 84 a 92. *Naar min tid og stund er forhaand* ("When My Last Hour is Close At Hand"), A and B. melodies, ♩ = 72 a 76. *O Gud af himlen, se hertil* ("Look down, O Lord, from Heaven Behold"), ♩ = 66 a 69. O *Helligaand, du skat so skjøn* ("O Holy Ghost, Thou Gift Divine"), ♩ = 52. The beautiful hymn, *Nu fryde sig hver kristen mand* ("Rejoice Today With One Accord"), is used too little by our congregations. Hymns such as, *Vaer trøstig, Zion, Jesu brud* ("Be Hopeful, Zion, Bride of Christ"), and others of the same character are also well suited to its bright and cheerful melody. This melody and hymn---Luther's first--the fruit of the great reformer's poetic musical work---contributed powerfully to opening a fountainhead of song throughout the world. This winged melody initiated a new era of song and carried the gospel's glad message into thousands of homes.

Kirketidende. Vol. 33, No. 20, May 16, 1906, pp. 537-541.

# How Our Hymns Ought To Be Sung

John Dahle

## Part Four

Many seem to be of the opinion that everything which church choirs sing at church services, including the hymns and the liturgy, should be sung in four part. This is certainly not at all necessary. The chorales should, as a rule, be sung in unison. The main thing is that the whole congregation sing, and the choir's most important purpose is to support and lead the congregational singing. Unison singing by the choir will be of great help here. It is a different situation when the church choir practices four part chorales for use on various occasions. It then becomes necessary to choose a setting especially suitable for four part singing. There is a considerable difference in four part settings. It depends on the melodic character of the lower voices. Many settings of the old masters are specifically written for four part choir and should preferably be sung *à cappella*. In the second part of *Rhytmisk Koralbog*, "for choirs," may be found several hymns arranged by Bach, Eccard, Praetorius and others. Our church choirs should become better acquainted with these. As a rule, Lindeman's settings are not so well adapted for four part singing.

In the liturgical part of the worship service, the responses, *Amen*, *Og med din Aand* ("And with Thy Spirit"), *Gud vaere lovet* ("God be praised"), *Vi opløfter vore hjerter* ("We Lift Up Our Hearts"), as well as the *Gloria* and *Hellig, Hellig* ("Holy, Holy"), are sung in parts by the choir. It is important that the principal voice, the melody, is clearly heard and that the whole congregation participate in the singing. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that it is the whole congregation who answer *Amen*, *Og med din Aand*, *Vi opløfter vore hjerter*, etc. and not only the choir or the precentor. The *Kyrie* should preferably be sung in unison. P. Lindeman's very modern harmonization of the *Kyrie* in his "Music for the New Morning Service Liturgy" (introduced in *Rhytmisk Koralbog*) should not replace Ludv. Lindeman's simpler and more churchly setting of this part of the liturgy, which is almost as old as the christian church. The *Kyrie* should be sung slowly, ♩ = 52. The first setting's end note should be lengthened, that is, it should be performed as if it were a half note, the rests between the verses should be observed, and the singing should be soft. *Amen*, *Og med dit Aand*, *Gud vaere lovet* as well as the *Gloria* should be sung quite fast ♩ = 66 a 69. The long, simple *Amen* is not very satisfying as it is commonly sung. Generally a new breath is taken one or two times before the *Amen* is finished. It is a matter of question whether it would not be more advisable to sing the word three times, as for example, *Amen*, *Amen*, *A....men*. *Vi opløfter vore hjerter* should be sung fast and in the *Koralbog* have the Alla Breve as a measure signature(¢ with a line through it), 𝅗𝅥 = 50.

In many places in Lindeman's setting of the liturgy the third voice, or the tenor part, lies quite high. If choirs have a lack of tenors who can easily sing the highest notes, the third voice may be sung by the lowest altos. In this way, if there are enough good women's voices, these parts of the liturgy may be sung in the four part arrangement with good effect, even if there are no tenors available. Chorales and choir songs which have a too high tenor tessitura may be sung the same way; or the song may be sung in a higher key, provided the soprano voices can tolerate this change. The melody for O Jesu, for din pine ("Lord Jesus, by Thy Passion"), must not be interchanged with the melody for Bliv med din store naade ("Abide in Grace, Lord Jesus"). The first one, which preferably should be sung according to Lindeman's setting, (Rhytmisk Koralbog, nr. 110 a), should also be used for the hymn, Se, hvor nu Jesus traeder ("See, Now Where Jesus Walks"), ♩ = 60. It is unfortunate that the Rhytmisk Koralbog has two variants of the same melody. The beginning note in Bliv med din store naade in Rhytmisk Koralbog has been made a long note. This is apparently one of the so-called samlingsnoter (in English "gathering notes") which were used at the beginning of melodies in earlier times in order to give the singers time to enter before the hymn itself was sung. This kind of "gathering note" has been rejected by many church musicians and cannot be said to be of much use. The tempo is ♩ = 60 a 66.

The old melody for Jesus, *sjaelens lyse dag* ("Jesus, Dayspring of the Soul"), should not be interchanged with L's melody, *Sørg, o kjaere fader du* ("Grieve, Oh Dearest Father, Thou"). Let the first hymn retain its good, old melody, which ought to be used more than it is. The second is a joyous, cheerful, religious folk song which certainly is well adapted to its hymn but which, nevertheless, lacks the true religious quality of the first. There is a tendency to use Lindeman's melody for all the hymns in this meter. A celebrated Norwegian singer appeared in a church concert in Christiania a few years ago. She chose as one of her numbers the old hymn from 1531, *Jesu, sjaelens lyse dag*. One of Norway's church musicians thanked her publicly for this number and complimented her interpretation and understanding of good church music. The tempo for both of these melodies is ♩ = 66 a 69.

The melodies *Jesu du min glaede* ("Jesus, Priceless Treasure"), by J. Crüger, 1656, and Lindeman's *Gud skal alting mage* ("God Shall All Things Create"), should not be interchanged. The first is one of our most excellent old church melodies which is best adapted to the first named hymn and to a hymn of penitence such as *Herre, jeg maa klage* ("Lord I Must Lament"). I do not see that it makes any difference to interchange the Lindeman form of this hymn with the older rhythmic chorale in *Rhytmisk Koralbog*, ♩ = 66 a 69. Lindeman's melody, which has a brighter quality and requires a more spirited style of performance, is one of the most liked and used of our newer hymn tunes; and although it certainly can be used for other hymns than *Gud skal alting mage*, as for example, the hymn, *Hører i, som graede* ("Listen Ye, Who Weeping"), and the Pentecost hymn, *Sørgendes husvaler* (Not sung in English), yet anyone with a grain of sense regarding these matters will realize that this melody is not well suited to the above named hymn, *Herre, jeg maa klage*. Tempo, ♩ = 76 a 80.

Next let us look at a group of hymns, which have eight iambic feet with 7 and 6 syllables to the verse lines, or the kind of verse used in *Befal du dine veie* ("Thy Way and All Thy Sorrows"). This hymn which is rightly regarded as one of the most magnificent which our church possesses is identified with two other hymns of somewhat different character, namely, *Mig hjertelig nu laenges* ("Let Me Be Thine Forever"), and *O ansigt, høit forhaanet* ("O Sacred Head Now Wounded"), and we dare not separate this melody from one or the other of these hymns...But the hymn, *Befal du dine veie*, requires a more spirited and vigorous performance than the last two, which should be sung with quiet, gentle intensity. The tempo for the first hymn, *Rhytmisk Koralbog*, ♩ = 76 a 80; for the last ♩ = 66 a 69. In Lindeman's *Koralbog*, ♩ = 66 a 60. This hymn should be sung as a rhythmic chorale. The *Rhytmisk Koralbog* has three different settings, which nevertheless have much in common. I can see no reason why two of these should be by the Danish organist, Thomas Laub, of all people, whose harmonizations are often somewhat uniform and trivial. We have other just as prominent church musicians who understand full well the art of harmonization in the spirit of the old masters.

Another hymn in this metric group is C. Goudimel's beautiful, but too seldom used melody, *Jeg raaber fast, o Herre* ("O Lord, Hear Thou My Calling"). (Claude Goudimel, the Hugenot from Flanders, who was the teacher of the famous Palestrina, has in addition to this melody, also given the church the well known hymn (*Jesu, dine dybe vunder*). The tune to *Jeg raaber fast, o Herre* should always be used for this hymn and to others of like character, for example, *Til ende aaret haster* ("The Year Will Soon Be Ended"), and *Hos Gud er idel glaede* ("With God is Constant Pleasure"). Tempo, *Rhytmisk Koralbog*, Number 55a, ♩ = 72. It is unfortunate that there are two different versions of the melody in *Rhytmisk Koralbog*. By making a few small changes, the rhythm could be made easier and more understandable without any loss of its essential character. According to Lindeman's *Koralbog* the tempo is 60 a 66. This melody should not be interchanged with the bright, more spirited hymn tune *Jeg vil mig Herren love* ("I Will Give Praise to God") (and never with the American "From Greenland's Icy Mountains").

The first should always be sung to its own hymn and may in addition be sung to such hymns as *Er Gud for mig, saa traede* ("If God Be With Me As I Journey"), and others that breathe the spirit of frankness and joy in the Lord, ♩ = 69 a 72. Sing it with a strong beat, without lengthening the short end notes.

The melodies, *O Gud du fromme Gud* ("O God, Thou Faithful God"), *Rhytmisk Koralbog* number 104 a and *Nu takker alle Gud* ("Now Thank We all Our God"), should preferably not be interchanged. They are of the same meter but of completely different character. The first should be used for *Idag er naadens tid* ("This Is the Day of Grace"), *O lytter til, I folk* ("O Listen, Now Ye People"), and hymns of similar character, (♩ = 66). *Nu takker alle Gud, Rhytmisk Koralbog,* ♩ = ca. 84; Lindeman's *Koralbog* ♩ = 72. The melody for *Hvo ved hvor naer mig er min ende* ("Who Knows How Near My Life's Expended"), *Rhytmisk Koralbog,* No. 47, is not really suitable for this hymn, but much better suited for hymns such as *Vaagn op og slaa paa dine strenge* ("Awake, My Soul, in Joyful Lays"). However, it has been associated with the first named hymn for so long that it is difficult to separate them. While this hymn should be sung slowly, ♩ = 60, the same melody used for hymns such as *O, at jeg havde tusend munde* ("O That I Had a Thousand Tongues"), and *Vaagn op og slaa paa dine strenge* should be sung faster, ♩ = 66 a 72. A beautiful, inspiring melody for the last hymn is number 128 in *Rhytmisk Koralbog.* It should preferably be used for the hymn, *Naar synderen ret ser sin vaade*

("When Sinners See Their Lost Condition"), and should be sung softly but with spirit, ♩ = 80.

The hymns, *Frisk op, min sjael*, ("Rejoice, My Soul"), and *Mit haab og trøst og al tillid* ("My Hope and Trust and Confidence"), are not exactly the same meter as *Jeg beder dig, min* Herre Gud ("I pray to Thee, My Lord and God"), and the melodies should therefore not be interchanged. We have already analyzed the first two. The tempo for the last named hymn in *Rhytmisk Koralbog* is ♩ = ca. 84 a 88; in Lindeman's *Koralbog*, ♩ = 60.

The venerable old melody, *Jesu dine dybe vunder*, ("O What Precious Balm and Healing"), is certainly one of the best and most cherished of our hymn melodies; but it is used for too many of our hymns. It should be interchanged more often with the festive melody, *Nu, velan, vaer frisk tilmode* ("Now Rejoice, This Happy Morn"). It is best adapted to the Easter hymn, *Lov og pris og evig aere* ("Praise to Thee and Adoration"), *Hjerte, lad dig ei indbilde* ("On My Heart Imprint Thine Image"), and others. There are so many hymns with this meter that Lindeman's inspiring melody, *Nu er frelsens dag oprundet* ("Now the Saviour's Day Is Dawning"), should also be used. Although this hymn is not found in the Synod hymnbook, the melody could be used for a hymn such as Grundtvig's, *Lover Gud, I Kristne Fromme* ("Faithful Christians, Praise Thy God"). *Rhytmisk Koralbog* has two old German melodies of the same meter, number 63, b and c, which certainly are good and useful church melodies; but just the same we should not reject the newer melodies and least of all the beautiful and cherished melodies which Ludvig Lindeman has given the Norwegian church and which, therefore, in a special sense belong to us. The tempo for *Jesus, dine dybe vunder,* No. 63a in *Rhytmisk Koralbog* is ♩ = 84; in L's Koralbog, ♩ = 60. *Nu, velan, vaer frisk tilmode, Rhytmisk Koralbog,* 𝅗𝅥 = 72. I prefer the measured version in Lindeman's *Koralbog*, ♩ = 72.

Kirketidende. Vol. 33. No. 26, June, 1906, pp. 707-711.

# How Our Hymns Ought to Be Sung

John Dahle

## Part Five

In the preceding articles I have attempted briefly to establish the most important rules for good hymn singing, have selected several types of hymns for discussion, and have tried to show how they should be sung. If I were to go through the entire Koralbog in the same way, it would be essentially a repetition of what I have already pointed out. Therefore, in conclusion, I shall limit myself to naming only the most common hymns and to indicating their tempos. What has been mentioned in the preceding articles regarding their performance etc., should be applied to these by those who are interested. Close attention must be paid as to whether the number given for the tempo applies to the quarter note or to the half note. For the following chorales in Rhytmisk Koralbog the tempo is 𝅗𝅥 = 80 a 84:

Af høiheden oprunden er. (The Morning Star Upon Us Gleams).

Ak vidste du som gaar i syndens laenker. (Ah, If You Knew, Who Walk in Chains of Sin).

Jeg raaber fast, o Herre. (O Lord, Hear Thou My Calling).

Jeg raaber til dig, Herre Jesu Krist. (Lord, Hear the Voice of My Complaint).

Lover Gud, i kristne fromme, number 33 b. (Praise the Lord, Ye Faithful People).

Jesu er mit liv i live. (Of My Life the Life, O Jesus).

Kom, sterke frelser, snart. (Come Soon, O Saviour Strong).

Maria hun er en jomfru ren. (O Mary Virgin Undefiled).

O Kristus, Guds enbaarne. (The Only Son From Heaven).

Den idraet Gud er takkelig. (Not sung in English).

Come Ye Disconsolate.

Holy, Holy, Holy.

Jerusalem, Thou City.

In the following hymns the 𝅗𝅥 = ca. 66 a 69:

Ak fader lad dit ord, din aand (O Father May Thy Word Prevail).

Et er nødigt, dette ene. (One Thing Needful! This One Treasure).

Bedre dig, o kjaere sjael. (Not sung in English).

Et lidet barn saa lysteligt. (To Us Is Born a Blessed Child).

Den store hvide flok. (The Great White Host).

Nu fryde sig hver kristen mand. (Dear Christians, One and All, Rejoice).

Guds godhed vil vi prise (To God Our Anthem Raising).

Herre, naadig dig forbarme. (Gracious Lord, Grant Us Thy Mercy).

I himmelen, i himmelen (In Heaven Above).

I Jesu navn skal al vor gjerning ske. (In Jesus Name, Our Work Must All Be Done).

Vi tro allesammen paa en Gud. (We All Believe in One True God).

In the following hymns the half note 𝅗𝅥 = 50 or a little less:

Fader vor ud i himmerig (Our Father, Thou in Heaven Above).

Kom hid til mig, enhver isaer. (Come Unto Me, Ye Weary).

Al Verden nu raabe, a and b. (Ye Lands to the Lord Make a Jubilant Noise).

Med sorgen og klagen hold maade. (Despair Not, O Heart, in Thy Sorrow).

O Helligaand, du skat saa skjøn. (O Holy Ghost, Thou Gift Divine).

Paa Gud alene. (On God Alone).

(Come Hither, Ye Faithful).

Half note 𝅗𝅥 = 66 a 69:

Esaias profeten (Isaiah, the Prophet).

I dødens baand den Herre Krist. (Christ Jesus Lay in Death's Strong Bands).

Rind nu op i Jesu Navn. (Rise, Arise in Jesus Name).

Quarter note ♩ = 76:

Nu beder vi den Helligaand. (O Holy Ghost, To Thee We Pray).

O Guds lam uskyldig. (O Lamb of God Most Holy).

The hymn *Nu beder vi den Helligaand* ("O Holy Ghost, To Thee We Pray"), also has two different melodies and rhythmic versions in *Rhytmisk Koralbog*. The same is also true of *Vi tror allesammen* paa en Gud. ("We All Believe in One True God"). (I have mentioned several others before). The commonly used form should preferably be used for these two and the other hymns in question. The old rhythmic version of 95a and 130a could be included in the choir section of the book. One of our goals should be to work for unity in church singing. If we wish for unity, we must not make things more complicated than they already are by putting two quite different versions of the same hymn side by side in a hymnbook for congregational use. Neither should we unnecessarily introduce new melodies for the congregation's use. The *Rhytmisk Koralbog* has two melodies for *Der mange skal komme fra øst og fra vest*, but we can very well get along with one. The old, well-known melody,number 17b, is one of the most beautiful church melodies we possess.

The Danish organist, Thomas Laub, has received much too prominent a place in *Rhytmisk Koralbog*. He has provided the settings for 54 of the book's hymns. The school to which Laub belongs considers the modern harmonizations unchurchly, and so far as church music is concerned seems inclined to turn its development back three or four hundred years. A style which Ludvig Lindeman designates "as an immature attempt from the infancy of art" seems to be the type which this school wants to establish as a pattern of good church style for all time. Here too it pays to follow the golden mean. In some cases Laub's settings are very appealing. For example, his setting of *Hvad kan os komme til for nød*, may be singled out as such. But as a rule, the settings are somewhat monotonous and rugged. The most conspicuous characteristic is his constant use of the major chord at the close of a melody harmonized in a minor key. Such closing chords are proper and can be very effective when they are used sparingly. But Laub uses them altogether too much. Other church musicians whose settings are used are Hølter and Hertzog who belong to the same school as Laub, and whose settings are, of course, in the same style. Hølters' settings are used for 21 of the book's hymns.

Lindeman's Kirken den er et gammelt hus ("Built on a Rock the Church Doth Stand"), is rightly considered his master-piece, but in the Rhytmisk Koralbog Lindeman's original setting is omitted and Thomas Laub's setting, which supposedly sounds better because of the melody's Dorian character, replaces it. Well and good! Admitted that Laub's setting is very satisfying; Lindeman's should have been included along with Laub's if his absolutely had to be there, out of devoted respect.

More care should also have been taken in making changes in the melodies. It is not always certain that the old version is always the best. Furthermore the old rhythm has been changed to too great an extent. These changes do not always contribute to improving the congregational singing. The following hymns may be mentioned as examples of these unfortunate changes in rhythm; O hjertens ve, Se solens skjønne lys og pragt, and Nu rinder solen op. There are, however, many more. The fermatas, which are intended only as phrase marks, are misleading, because many think they indicate a hold. The hymns should in all cases have a regular division of beats and bar lines even if one or another change in the rhythm has been attempted.

In conclusion, let me add a little more about church singing. The church choir has become a fixed institution in most of our congregations; and our church choirs are contributing very much to beautify the worship service and to make it inspiring and uplifting, chiefly by supporting and leading the congregational singing and also by singing special choir songs. Church choirs deserve our thanks and should have all the encouragement we can give them. However, there should be a more fixed arrangement in regard to the choir's appearance in the service. It should have its fixed place in the liturgy perhaps preferably--according to old Lutheran custom--either after the epistle or after the creed. Now as a rule the choir sings after the sermon, or during the offertory, and has a more isolated place as a kind of church concert number, which it should by no means be. There should also be more fixed regulations with respect to the character of the choir music chosen. Too often choir songs are sung which are poorly suited to a Lutheran worship service. Many choirs seem to have fallen in love with American "anthems," which are sung at Norwegian worship services. This would be excusable, if we did not have good choir songs with Norwegian texts. But we now have a number of such songs. Nevertheless, it would be an excellent idea if our denomination could publish a rich collection of good, church choir music, which could, so to speak, become "authorized" for church use. Such a collection, if possible, should contain choir songs for all the Sundays and festivals of the church year, so that the choir's songs could be in full harmony with the sermon and the hymns.

# MUSIKTIDENDE

Vol. 1, No. 1, Jan. 1895, pp.2-3.

Edited by John Dahle

## Singing Congregations

### There Ought To Be More Consideration for Young People

"How can our young people be kept in the Lutheran Church?" This question has been discussed in speech and in writing both privately and publicly on many different occasions. It is an important question, a question of concern to the future of our Church. It is a distressing fact that among many of our young people there is a strong inclination to turn their backs on our Lutheran Church and either to give up going to Church altogether or to join an American Church denomination. The cause of this situation lies in great measure in our congregations' neglect and disregard of their young people and their stubborn adherence to established customs. If one asks the young people why they do not attend Church, or why they attend other churches, they answer that they do not like our Norwegian Churches, that they are so boring and monotonous, that the singing is so poor, etc. And the young people are right. It is often tiring to attend a Norwegian worship service and monotonous in the highest degree. In general, the singing does not sound good. When one must plod tenaciously and sluggishly through a hymn of eight long stanzas, listen to a sermon which lasts an hour or an hour and a half, sing yet another hymn, perhaps to the same melody as the first, and so poorly performed that it really grates on the ears, then the Church Services are certainly both tiring and monotonous, mildly speaking. Church Services have been conducted in this way Sunday after Sunday, year in and year out. It is strange that not more young people have left our church. We do not start them out as we should. They get little encouragement. We do little or nothing to ensure that the church may become dear to the young people. Most of them have the ability to sing. Many can play musical instruments. All of them like to have a chance to use their talents. They would, perhaps, use them in the service of the church, if they were encouraged to do so in a friendly way and were made to feel that their participation was appreciated. Young people are not opposed to being with their elders when they are kind, friendly, and sociable. The young people, as a rule, would have nothing against going to our churches, taking part in the singing, and listening to the sermon if more attention were paid to them, if, for their sake, the machinery were set in a little livelier motion, if more life and variety were introduced into the singing, if the sermons were a little shorter, if they were encouraged to bring their musical instruments to church and to use them for the edification of the congregation. But as has so often been the case, in giving support to the wishes of the older people, there has been neglect in giving due consideration to the interest of the young people. The old form of the hymns is retained to please the old people. Out of respect for the old people a violin or cornet must not be used in church; out of respect for the old people such modern changes through which the young people would feel more satisfied and at home in our Churches are neglected. It is good to be conservative, but within reason. More consideration must be paid our young people if we want growing congregations, - singing congregations.

### The Children Must Be Included

We can do much to keep our young people for the Church by taking the singing in the Sunday School seriously and by having the children attend the divine services and help with the singing. There are Sunday Schools in many city congregations, and many country congregations have them too. What musical resources there are in these Sunday Schools! Children should learn to sing the hymn tunes and other good Church Music here. All children, age 10 and above, should attend worship services and sit together in the front rows. They should learn to sing the responses in the liturgy and the most common hymns. In addition to the usual hymns and chorales, the children's Sunday School songs should be used. These should be sung not only by the children but also by the entire congregation. It will make the children happy to hear the whole congregation sing the songs which they have learned to cherish in Sunday School. Children like to sing. There is hardly anything that is easier to interest them in if they are approached in the right way. A singing group of children in the congregation would teach the older people to sing. If, from their earliest years, children became accustomed to attending divine services and singing from their Sunday School books, and if they were permitted to take part, under good and skillful leadership, in the hymn singing, responses in the liturgy, and in singing songs which they especially enjoyed, they would gradually become so strongly attached to the larger singing family, the congregation, that they would find it difficult to break away from it later. The church would become dear to them,a home where they would feel it good to be.

What life congregational singing gets when the fresh, clear voices of children add their light, buoyant coloring to it! Children put themselves whole-heartedly into their singing. This is the reason it is so impressive. Their innocence, trust, and confidence, their pure happiness is jubilantly acclaimed in their singing. - The children must be included if we are to have singing congregations.

John Dahle Papers - Luther Theological Seminary Archives. (n.d.).

# The Ideal Home

Speech by John Dahle

Bjørnson has written a poem about home, one of the most beautiful poems of his first period....

It is the ideal home the poet immortalizes. This kind of home is not to be found just anywhere. We live in a materialistic age. Bread and contentment, food and pleasure are the order of the day. This seems to be the end and aim of existence for many people. The materialistic spirit of the age is pervasive; it enters not only into politics and business life but also into the schools and homes where little time is spent on the consideration of noble thoughts and feelings but where self love and cold, calculating reason dominate. This spirit imbues our being, ...fashions our outlook on life and people. How shall we attain a lucrative position? How can we earn much money and attain an an enjoyable life? There is constant pursuit of material gain and sensual pleasure. Although it is true that the vast majority of men are driven and actuated by this spirit of the times, it is equally true that its worshipers are chasing a will-o-the-wisp and are seeking their fortune where it is not to be found. When one praises this country's greatness, one points with pride to the thousands of prosperous homes. Even though there are expensive stylish residences, with all modern conveniences,...

the home about which the poet sings,--home in the best, most beautiful sense of the word,--is not commonly found. A true home is not found where one always thinks he lacks possessions. A true home is not found in the house whose members are chiefly concerned with the pursuit of material possessions. As the homes are...so is society. If the homes are imbued with crass materialism and egoism...and these two things always go hand in hand...then society is endangered. There is much talk of patriotism on public occasions and the subject is taught in our schools; but in spite of this, there is rich devotion to the spirit of the times, which is society's worst enemy. If we were true and wise patriots, we would oppose this enemy of society with all our powers and begin where it should begin,--in our homes.

The ideal home is found where man is happy and contented with his circumstances, whether it is a wealthy home or one of more humble circumstances. The true home is one in which each serves the other in love. Only Christianity can create such a home. The ideal home is the Christian home. It is this kind of home the poet sings about when he says: "There only true children come...and their sins are kissed away; the door is open to the home yonder; for from it they came and to it they will return." Such homes sustain the country. In such homes it will be possible to build a noble social structure. They are the salt which preserves society from decay. If our homes and their individual members hope to discharge their purpose effectually, to guard truth and power and to become a blessing to others, they must be in sympathetic rapport with the higher home, the common spiritual home, the church congregation,--be absorbed in it as in a higher unity, from it receive higher consecration. From it there will stream noble impulses...yes...blessings will drift, like the scent of fragrant flowers, into the homes which join in the activities of their church home, the congregation, with their best abilities and with their means.

It is to be hoped that we all have experienced the truth of the words that "it is better to give than to receive";--then, to serve others...father, mother, sisters, brothers, gives us sincere joy and peace. Not even the Christian home is untouched by the materialistic and egotistical spirit of the times. We search for luck and happiness where it may not be found, in attempting to make our lives worth living, to make them rich and beautiful, to give them substance and fullness. This, perhaps, is nowhere more obviously apparent than in our relationships to our church home. If there is anything which is significant, it is that we should willingly and gladly serve in our church home,--not only by throwing a few dollars into the congregation's treasury and by attending church at convenient intervals...that the most arrant egoist can do... but also by serving with our best abilities and gifts, willingly and gladly, in the Sunday School, Young People's Society, Ladies' Aid, Church Choir. As a good child is always glad to serve father, mother, and sisters and brothers in the parental home so should the youth of the church, the congregation's children, be glad to give service in their church home, in the larger family of the congregation.

In our language there are two words which resemble one another very much. The one means to accumulate wealth; the other means to give assistance. The first is concerned with satisfying materialistic demands. The other, with offering one's self in service. The first which on the surface seems to offer happiness and good fortune brings in the long run emptiness and boredom in its wake. The other, which perhaps many consider to be a burden, hides life's greatest blessings. It is in seeming to give up things, in being diligent, in giving in the service of the good that gladness and peace, the true sound enjoyment of life will come. I have made the observation that many young people are much too passive,--they are as strangers and foreigners in their own church home. What is more natural for young people, that is, for young people who are strong and well--than to sing? It should be just as natural as it is for the lark and the song thrush to chirp. And all young people can sing if they want to. Young people and singing belong together like summer and flowers. If the sun and rain do not bring grass and flowers, then the earth is unfruitful, a barren desert. If young people can remain mute under grace of sun and rain, then the source of good singing is dried up and the heart, a dreary desert land. The youth who is passive and mute at our church gatherings is like a child who sits and pouts and sulks in a corner when he is expected to help with the housework. What should one think of a child who wears a sour look, who thinks himself too good, or who is too lazy to work in his own home? Indeed, there are those who would rather run around and work in other homes. This is poor behavior, one will say, and hopes that there are not many such. Yet there are many of our singing youth who will not blend their voices with others in their own church home choir, but who take pride in taking a back seat in one or another of the "fashionable" reform church choirs...Thus there are many young people of the church who are like goats. Recently I attended a church in Iowa several times. There was supposed to be a church choir there, but it was never present. Only the director, who was also the father of the organist, was there. Where were the others? I was told that they went here and there,...many to the Baptist church on the next corner; many were away to hear an itinerant evangelist. The latter live on exciting"sweet stuff." They gorge themselves on sentimental spiritual songs and melodies, on hearing drastic confession of sins and empty religious verbiage, mixed with insipid witticisms, laughter, shouts of "halleluja," and tears. These young people literally went on a spree whose effects are like that of a tired man who takes a drink. It stimulates for the moment; afterward comes the feeling of inertness and emptiness and the sensation of a bad taste in the mouth.

Dear Young People: Let us honor and serve our own church home, which is but a small return for all the beauties this home gives to us, and let us give our best abilities to it. We will find honor and joy in adding to the home's treasures and adornments and in keeping them burnished. Our young people can make one of the most beautiful contributions in this endeavor. One of the most glorious treasures of the Lutheran Church is its song and music. Let this be the young people's contribution,--to elevate this heritage and to let it shine in all its beauty. In comparison with the current reform melodies, which came into being yesterday and today are blown about like dead leaves, our hymn tunes are like gold. Many of our most excellent melodies have been sung by congregations for hundreds of years. They have been on the lips of the martyrs, and generation after generation have hummed them from childhood to death. No denomination has more noble church songs and music than the Lutheran Church. Among Protestant denominations, this music ranks high. Not only Lutherans but also all eminent church musicians agree that this is true. The best Lutheran hymns are found in the hymnals of England, which is certainly not a Lutheran country. Some hymns hold a very high place. The so-called "Luther's Hymn" has repeatedly been performed at large festivals, by the country's greatest singers as a solo number with a powerful orchestra as accompaniment. What a melody this is! "Gud Helligaand i Tro os Laer." (O Holy Ghost, to Thee We Pray). At the end of the Boer War "Now Thank We All Our God" was sung in all English churches. The greatest composers have often used Lutheran Chorales in their compositions. Love of our church music will grow with use. It should be used more in the home so that good music could become a power in our people's every day living. Then our Church home would also become dearer to us than ever before. Finally this:

There is a musical composition which is called a fugue. A single voice introduces a melodic theme, and this theme is taken up by all the other voices, one after another. This is varied in the most diverse ways. The theme is stated and restated; it rises and falls...all in agreement with higher laws and principles leading gradually to completeness and beauty. Congregational life is such a fugue. Its theme has been received from God. Sometimes glad songs of praise ring out in major chords; sometimes the plaintive, yearning minor chords are heard; sometimes the dissonance of sorrow. The Sunday School, the Ladies' Aid, the Church Choir, and Young People's Society are the main concordances in this church fugue. Are we in tune with these? The Church's fugue ends not with time. No, it is united as the brook with the rushing flood to the anthems of praise which shall sound eternally in the home beyond, where our voices also shall sing along, if we have found the song here.

NORDVESTEN
February 6, 1902, p. 4

Speech given by John Dahle at Fram's Third Evening Program

(Excerpt)

The Singing Society Fram, which is now a little over three years old, has, in spite of its young age, been in considerable demand in connection with festival occasions among the Scandinavians in the Twin Cities. It has appeared at public and private festivities nearly 40 times, or on the average of once a month since the Society's founding. The Society has performed altogether about 150 compositions at these occasions. This is for the information of those who may think that the Society too frequently repeats the same songs. A large repertoire is needed because of the great demands made upon a Singing Society like this.

In the large cities in the Scandinavian countries, what with the young student population, perhaps thousands of them from which to choose singers, or an equally numerous mercantile and artisan class from which to choose, - where, in short, the musical part of the population is at one's service, it is comparatively easy to find singers for large and good men's choruses. Here, where Scandinavians are few and scattered and where only a small fraction have sufficient enough interest in singing and often lack the slightest knowledge of music, - where one can find 5-6 who can be called first bass and perhaps a few who may be used as first tenor, where one has opportunity for only 5-6 hours of practice time a month, - where the singers, like other people in this country, move here and there, so that one must, so to speak, often begin again, - here it is a very difficult matter to achieve satisfactory results with men's choruses.

That the Singing Society Fram has so far attained the satisfying results which it has is due chiefly to two circumstances: the Society's harmonious co-operation and the goodwill and favor of our Norwegian public. This last circumstance should be greatly emphasized. Though the singers themselves had a very great interest in participating in practice and instruction, the organization would, in the long run, not succeed unless it could frequently enjoy the exhilaration of the favor and applause of an interested audience.

Fram's interpretation of our magnificent Norwegian songs suffers indeed from many faults, and no one recognizes this better than the Society itself. In spite of this, - we dare say that these songs, - these musical gems, the beautiful treasure of our native heritage, have at times been interpreted by this Society in such a way as to touch the heart strings fondly, - to bring a moist sheen to this or that person's eye, and to fill the listener's mind with pure pleasure. At such moments, a small, modest singing society is a power among us, demonstrates that it has a purpose, and vindicates its right to exist. Such a singing society serves in the interest of true culture, of the beautiful, and of the good. This is doubly significant in a cold, materialistic age in which man is so inclined to disregard and to "turn up his nose" at all talk about spiritual uplift, about higher interests,- in which men ridicule a person for speaking of ideals, spiritual life, heritage, and the like. With such children of the time, we shall not argue. They probably have, as one writer has said, gold in their blood, and all higher values of life mean nothing to them. If they are content within their dreary desert land, we surely should not envy them. We, who have had the opportunity to see and hear how an inspiring national song on various occasions has filled minds and hearts with a common emotion, how it, as the poet says, has "loosed inspiration's streaming banners," how it has lifted listeners to a higher plane from which they could look with a larger, truer and more sympathetic outlook at life and people, could meet in common understanding with smiles and handshakes as if all social barriers had seemingly been torn down, and could become members of humanity's great family with common feelings, common interests and common language, we who have had the opportunity to experience something like this will surely give due credit to these higher values which have given us rich, beautiful memories and which have brought a glimmer of pure joy into our lives.

The Society is conscious of its principles. *Fram* never permits drinking or dancing in connection with its entertainments. The Society believes that these two things neither are nor can be compatible. It cannot see that there is any sense in first building up, cultivating, and elevating through singing and music, and directly thereafter pulling down and demoralizing its audience through permitting night long dancing and drinking. It would then be the promoter of beautiful, ennobling art and of doubtful distractions at the same time! This Society will not stoop to such in spite of the fact that a large number of our Norwegian people look upon such as something entirely innocent, matter-of-course, and natural. It is a great pleasure, therefore, for the Society to see such a large number of its countrymen at its modest program of song. At a time in which the demand for stimulation of nerves and senses is becoming greater and greater, and in which it can easily be secured, it is a pleasure to see how time after time our unassuming performance of song and unpretentious and quiet arrangements for entertainment do attract an impressive audience of our intellectual countrymen. It certainly testifies to the fact that there is a sound core among our Norwegian people here; and, on the other hand, it demonstrates that this Singing Society has a place to fill, a mission among our people in this city. "Singing unites," it is said; and this expression states exactly what this Society wishes to be, a unifying element. Here people from different congregations, societies, professions, with their various ways of looking at life, meet, so to speak, on common ground, become acquainted with one another and under the releasing influence of music recognize one another as sons and daughters of the same mother. Your attendance and interest has an inspiring influence on the Singing Society, inspiring it to continuous, zealous effort so that Scandinavian music may become a power among our people in this country.

## John Dahle's Speech at the Valdris Meeting
## Como Park, August 31, 1902

As I stand here to speak to a gathering of Valdrises, my thoughts fly homeward and there they want to be, and this is only natural. Many of us have the finest and sweetest memories of home. They come streaming in upon us even more powerfully today because a great procession of thoughts travels homeward,--to the home district, to father and mother, to cousins and relatives. Seldom is the fine, wonderful Valdris valley closer to us than it is today. One can plainly see the mountain tops and hear the cataracts and brooklets tumble and turn. One can hear the wind soughing through the tree tops in the forest and the voice of the thrush whistling and singing. One can smell the pines and birch and heather, hear the lowing of the cattle and calves and the milkmaids calling from the mountain slopes, the fiddle playing happy songs, and see the dancing on the lawns. It is such a good feeling to have something like this to remember, something gay and beautiful; it is something to steep oneself in; one becomes young again and feels a great urge to live and to work.

There isn't one of us who thinks that the Valdris people are better off than other people in the world or than other people in Norway; but I daresay that they are equally as great and clever and first-rate in all things as other people are and as high-spirited as they. The Valdris people have self respect and have not learned to bend the back or lie on their knees before anyone. From olden days the Valdris people have had respect for government officials and for those in supreme authority; but if there were those who did not conduct themselves properly they certainly heard about it both through name calling and little wild birds as well as through snatches of ballads or songs so that it was dinned into their ears....

There cannot be found people in Norway more eager for knowledge and education than the Valdris people, and how they love to read! When I think about some of the old men and women whom I knew when I was a little boy,---people who had never been out of their own home parish---and when I remember their fine ways and practices and the tact that they displayed, I dare to say that such people must have been reared from childhood as members of the old nobility, if you please. When I think of an old grandmother, who died 35 years ago, and how she used to sit so plump and distinguished, with lively eyes and a large crooked nose and read from all sorts of books and philosophize about them and how she was so full of wisdom and songs that she could have continued to hum and sing them all day-(and there were many such people), I am ashamed to stand here and say to myself: You who are of the same relationship, and have had such opportunities to travel about the world and such opportunities to learn and to amount to something---indeed who has come farther! There are a number of you who can say the same---many of you. We haven't progressed so far in attaining real culture and civilization as we often make believe we have and brag about,---not in that which is most excellent in life. How has this happened? I well believe it has happened because we have become toilers for bread, of course. It has resulted in that the stomach has become big and the heart, smaller. It wouldn't do any harm if we thought now and then about father and mother and home, where they lived satisfied and in peace in their small circumstances, faithful and trustworthy as the mountains, with acquaintances clean and deep as the fjords down in the valley, honest and truthful in all their dealings. Most of them represent for us a pattern of all that which is commendable and praiseworthy. Here people worked hard together, had a warm disposition, were soft in speech and temper, though their hands were rough and work worn, and the lively young people were buoyant and strong as steel whether in work or play. Girls did not ruin their stomachs by eating candy and wearing corsets; therefore a great many women could live to be 100 years old.

A strong poetic strain runs through the lives of the Valdris people, a need for poetic expression along with the day's work. "En digtende trang gjennem arbeidet's gang," as the children sing. This quality can be seen to best advantage in their ballads and in their fine folk songs.---Music and song run through the lives of the people there as fresh and alive as the brooks and streams, or the cataracts rippling down the mountain sides.

And these folk songs, inherited from time immemorial have

have been a power in the lives of the people. The Valdris people have also inherited a great sense of humor. But it is not a glib-tongued humor as that of an Irishman or of a Mark Twain. No, the Valdris people have a philosophical humor which is typical for them. I know a man named Peer who claims there is no humor in Norway. When Asmund Vinje tells about the oat mush he ate in which fibrils of bran pricked just like the bristles on a pig's back...but he ate and ate though it scratched his throat and felt as if the top of a spruce tree had been forced through a stove pipe and so laughs at his own poverty,---this is real humor. Much of this kind of humor may be found in Valdris.

Today, the Valdris people back home are an enlightened, forward looking people. They have had singing societies in the parishes as long as I can remember. Now they have all kinds of meetings, and societies, literary societies, temperance societies, speech meetings, societies to encourage industry, to establish museums; they have telephone service throughout the entire valley, fine homes,--progress and civilization---these are their goals, which they try to further.

People change---but the old mountains peaks stand eternally. firm. The valley is beautiful and full of poetry as it always has been; the birches quiver and tremble in the wind and the cataracts whistle and sing as usual. But the people are changing. Many of those we knew in our youth lie under the sod at rest. The young people wanted to go out over the high mountains; mother's and father's home was too small for them. Father and mother could not understand why the young people should go away. Things were certainly good enough at home, they said. But one fine day, the young people took the leap and vaulted over mountain and sea. The old folks sat alone with their old customs-alone at home. One went and another went, indeed after a while large groups went, even as the birds in the fall. It was like a...a regular migration from Valdris over mountain and sea and far across the wide prairies... Indeed, father and mother followed their sons and daughters with strong, warm thoughts and these were returned by the children too. Then a letter arrived from Marit,...a letter from Ola. How happy the old people were! They could live on such an "America-letter" a whole month. Remember this all of you who have old parents at home, that an "America letter" is like a banquet, like the elixir of life for the old people. But it is just as important for those who write; it helps them to maintain and to have respect for the heritage and the homeland. "Honor thy father and mother so that all may be well with you and you may live long on the earth." This means, as you know, not only father and mother, who live in the same home as you; it means also the old people who are far away in Valdris and wait for letters from America.

The old nobility have pictures of their ancestors from remote times hanging on the walls of their homes and they look at them often and show them as prized possessions and note the resemblances. There is a certain fascination in this which they like and enjoy having for themselves and their children. We should have the same respect for and the same knowledge of family. If we have this we will gladly hear about our race and read their sagas. It is a poor sign when one is unconcerned about his own race. But it has too often been the case that in our struggle and concern for daily bread and "money" there has been little time for memories about the race and home and father and mother. Before long, thoughts and minds which hitherto had absorbed all of life's poetry and all that was fine and beautiful in life had been spirited away by a troll,--a big bad troll in the role of mammon. Thoughts and anxieties began to narrow themselves into smaller and smaller circles centered around a single thing which lured and attracted,--exactly like moths around a burning light. Work, work, food, food, money, gold! And the heart became smaller and the stomach full. Oh home, oh father and mother, their hymns and ballads and folk songs--all seemed to have been put in the background and lost as in a mist or fog. One had arrived at a great state of affairs now indeed. He had no desire to sing or to hum anymore. He didn't have the time to go to the Valdris meetings, scarcely the time to go to church. He had great things in mind. He had become so busy that he didn't have the time to live a right and truthful and sane life.

Now you must not misunderstand me and believe that I think that the Valdris people have completely degenerated here in America, that they have become complete scalawags, tricksters, or fools. Oh no, it is not as bad as that. The Valdris people have conducted themselves well in America and are as honorable as any other immigrants one can name. Such tall tales continue to appear in America, (the newspaper, you understand) about the Hallings and Sognings and the people of other Norwegian districts that the balance seems to be cast in their favor.

If the Valdris people would pay as much attention to the smallest trifles as do the writers of other districts there would be an account as long as from here to Madison.

Oh no, it is not this that I would tell you that we are not a good people, for that we are. Most of the young people who have come here from the valley of Valdris have been a credit to it and some have brought much honor. But couldn't we even be better? There can well be danger for us Valdris people here in the West, and the danger lies just there where it lies for all other people here. It lies in that which we call the "materialistic spirit of the age." It lays waste the country here like an illness and it has perhaps had an effect on the Valdris people too. We too talk, perhaps, about the fact that a man is worth so and so much in terms of money, though in other matters he may be a scamp. Or of another that he isn't worth a red cent; he doesn't even have money in the bank, though in other ways he is among the best of us. Perhaps Valdrises may also ask when it is a question of forwarding a good cause: "Is there anything in it for me?" and it could also well happen that one or another

Valdrises' conscience can be somewhat elastic "when there is something in it."

This spirit has also come into our schools,--schools which the Valdris people also support. The body and the mind are to be developed. Love of the beautiful and love of knowledge for its own sake are of less concern. The practical matter of economic sufficiency is the chief concern,--it teaches one to acquire a smart business sense. I like better a type of man I heard about when I was a little boy. He worked only by spells. It wasn't easy to get him started, but when he had once begun he kept on for several days at a time and tore into a job as if it were a big joke. When he could accomplish no more, he quit and went to bed. "I am dog tired;" he said, "I am dog tired. I am almost paralyzed; my whole body is weary unto death." He was certainly no business man, he.--However, I do not think that the Valdris people have fallen into this striving for material gain as much as many others have. Our ancestral heritage may be thanked for this. The Church has maintained its high place in our regard here as at home and has everyone's respect. It has been a good thing that we have helped to build churches, schools, and hospitals and have taught ourselves to sing. It is through these agencies that life unfolds its most beautiful treasures and becomes lovely, pleasurable, and rich. Here we have healthy, fine youth with many gifts and much knowledge; but we should also try to develop more true culture, poetry and intellectual life. "We could be more, do more, if we cared enough!"

I must tell you about a man and a young boy who came up to the home fields to cut hay, but first they had to eat. "You must eat well now," said the man to the boy, "so that you will be able to work hard after you finish eating." So the boy ate and ate in order to fortify himself for the work. When the two later went outside, the boy was so ill that he lay right down on the ground and began to moan. The man looked at him for a while and then said, "If I thought you were ill because you had overeaten, I would really feel like thrashing you." If things do not go as well as they should with us Valdrises in America it may be because we are too busy getting our daily bread---and in this event we deserve all the whipping we can get. Valdrises! Let us try to establish a Norwegian-American cultural society here in the West. This sounds pretentious, you may say, but it should not be so difficult. It will almost develop of its own accord if we only preserve our heritage, the teachings of our childhood, our sagas and poetry and song. If we co-operate to do this to the best of our ability, father, mother, and family will find even greater honor, happiness, and pride in their sons and daughters in America and America will derive great benefit from us.

John Dahle Papers (n.d.). Luther Theological Seminary Archives

# May 17th Festival Speech

John Dahle

As a rule on the 17th of May I think about Einar, a cotter whom I knew at one time. For many years he had dug and struggled with tree roots and stones in order to clear and add small new patches of land to his holdings. These acres were not at the moment his own, though they were in a sense the work of his hands--oh also Kari's-his wife's who had helped him---He was so happy in this fine place and said to himself, "Oh, to be the one to own it." It had been Kari's and his home since they were married and had been witness to their young happiness; now a strong, ruddy faced boy of seven filled the little open-hearthed room and the green courtyard with the sounds of his playing, laughter, and tears. Oh yes! There was indeed both rain and sunshine there on the farm. A lively boy he! Had he not just the other day driven the owner's son out of the yard when he threw stones at his cat? He dragged the future owner of the farm out through the gate, shook his fist at him, and said, "You can go home, you--go home to your father." Yes, that boy was now their life's joy and hope. He should never become a cotter if there were any way to prevent it. For if one could only get over to America!! But the owner of the place did not like to hear talk about America. If Einar wanted a piece of land he could call his own, he would be allowed to buy it on honorable terms.

One fine spring morning when the cuckoo crowed on the mountain side, Einar made arrangements to buy the land. Then Kari was so strongly moved that she folded her hands and thanked God, ran into the bedroom and shook the little boy: "Get up, get up now, little Ola; Little Ola," she said, "now you are a landowner!"

And there was laughter on little Ola's lips. Perhaps he did not really understand what had happened, but it must be something big and wonderful. When he came out into the sunshine, his father embraced him and stroked his curly hair.

"It is a beautiful day, today," said little Ola and he was right. Einar's eyes sparkled like the dew on the green leaves. The earth was now black but their land would become green early this year. What a blessed, fine little farm he had. He lifted his broad chest. Never had he felt himself to be so strong and happy.

"Ola, my son, now I shall work," he said. "Now I shall soon have four cows."

Then little Ola said, "Perhaps too a little male calf." So they took hold.

It was something like this that happened in 1814. For a long time the Norwegian people had experienced cotter's circumstances on their own land and were now at the point where they wanted to tend their farms and manage them under their own power.

But those who wished to remain as rulers were not as understanding as Einar's landlord. The people had to procure this management themselves. It was stated in a clear and explicit document, well drawn up by liberal broad minded men: "The kingdom of Norway is a free and indivisible, and independent kingdom," it said.

How could it be that a people could be so powerfully aroused after hundreds of years of political dependence? There are those who seem to believe that our people lay in a sort of sleep or lethargy in the so-called Danish period, like children, and that they suddenly woke up on the 17th of May and found to their great amazement that they had become a free people. Or there are those who believe that the only ones who were awake and who possessed liberal views and manly courage were the official Danish families because most Eidsvold men were of this race. And many certainly have had the idea that during the Danish period our people were a subjugated and subdued people. History does not bear this out. Let us look back to that time and mention a few details which shed light on the question and show the implications in the work for freedom. One writer says: "Because of the unions which our people entered into with neighboring races as a result of the hereditary monarchies of the Middle Ages, the political center of gravity came to be outside of the country and most of the official positions fell into foreign hands."

"Moreover, our king who lived in Denmark, was at no time considered by our people as a foreign king. He was our people's dear father to whom they gave allegiance and whom they served willingly. The Danish officials whom the king sent to Norway were accustomed from their life in Denmark to considering the freeholders in Norway serfs, whom they could treat as they wished. For the peasant farmers down in the mainland of Denmark were an especially subjugated and hard-pressed people. There was an attempt to introduce similar conditions in Norway; but this was met with a tenacious and powerful resistance. Norway's freeholders were of an other disposition as the Valdrises would say. The Norwegian people were now reduced to living on memories of ancient greatness, but this also had great significance for the future. That the old Norwegian nobility in the passing of time had become freeholders and had inter-married with the common man gave our freeholders power and distinction.

Ludvig Holberg writes: "Since most of the Norwegian freeholders thought themselves to be descended from the old nobility, an idea which possibly was not unfounded, they commonly held their heritage more dear than that of other peasant folk. This love of heritage which they had developed and their spirit had sustained them in their darkest hours." True enough at this time our people were disregarded, but even then they had their old laws which they maintained with great zeal. There came a time when the old freeholder's liberty had to be defended by force. And this struggle became decisive for Norway's future. If a king's official overstepped his duties and infringed on the people's rights he was, figuratively speaking, taken by the ear and punished with hard hands. Various Danish officials had to pay with their lives in those days and the authorities, as a rule, had to give in and recognize the people's cohesion and solidarity. For example, when a countryman killed Sheriff Larse Skjold of Romerike, the whole countryside declared that the act should be considered as a united deed, carried out by all of them.

From this era one has numerous examples of our people's generosity, love of country, and bravery. Not the least concerns the Norwegian army which was organized in 1640. This army, states an author, had great significance in the growth of national feeling and its organization awakened confidence and faith in our ability to stand on our own feet. It is told of the Telemarkings that they forced their sheriff to lead them to a hilltop at Gjellebok and there asked permission to attack the enemy.... When a Swedish army invaded Norway in 1716, three hundred men full of determination and desire for battle, each with a rifle and three weeks' provision, came up from the valley communities to General Lützow's camp. The leader of the group then said to the general, "Good-day, father! I have heard that you have company whom you wish to be rid of. Tell us now what we should do;...

then you will see!....

This high spirited assertiveness and spirit are strongly distinctive traits among the Norwegian freeholders. It is basically a mark of nobility. One can find these traits among the cotters as well as among the big landholders. One time a cotter family was expecting the pastor to visit their farm,and the mother said to her son, little Knut, that he must conduct himself seemingly,....take off his cap, and speak politely when he answered questions. Oh yes! Oh yes! The preacher came shortly, and little Knut stood with cap in hand and looked solemn.

"What is your name, my boy?"

"Little Knut!"

"How old are you, Knut?"

"Six years old last year."

"Can you then read, my boy?"

But then little Knut asserted himself--To ask, if he little Knut from Valdres, who was six last year could read! He snatched a little, worn book from his pocket. "Here you have the Catechism. You can hear for yourself what I know."

But this assertiveness can also exhibit itself in a more drastic fashion, as for example, in the first half of the last century during Mass in Hegge Kirche. One of the prominent men in the parish was to have a baby baptized. But the family came a little late and the pastor, Georg Prahl Harbitz, later president of parliament, went to the altar and closed the service.

He wanted to go home.

Just as at no time has our country been a conquered country so also our Norwegian people have never been a subjugated and captive people, and will hopefully never become that at home or abroad, in Norway or in America.

In spite of political dependence...our people in the past have had a personal liberty which permitted them to preserve their ethical power, their assertiveness, and their love of freedom. The past was by no means a period of hibernation, but a developmental period,--a time of growth, in which our people little by little prepared for the independence day which was to come...Thus we can better understand how people in the fulness of time could rise up with such power. Thus we can understand what resentment it must have awakened when Norway in January, 1814, was transferred to Sweden in a treaty which stipulated that the king of Denmark and Norway renounce all rights and claims to the kingdom of Norway which should in the future belong to the King of Sweden with full property rights and sovereignty. But the high Lords who thought they could barter Harald's ancient kingdom had made a bargain without considering the Norwegian people. On the 17th of May, they had their answer ready: "The kingdom of Norway shall be a free, independent, and indivisible, kingdom."

It is true that most of the men who managed our battle of independence were of the immigrant official families. But the

Danes deserve no credit for this. Most of this race had long since taken root in the country, had intermarried with the Norwegian race and felt and thought as good Norsemen. They had received their best education in this intercommunication, for our excellent Eidsvold men went courageously ahead without wavering, in spite of scarcity in the valleys and fjord villages, while threats of destruction and annihilation fell like dark war clouds over the land. Then it was that they knew themselves heartily in agreement with the Norwegian people and felt their high and holy call as the people's spokesmen.

It may perhaps sound strangely naive to many in our prosaic, commonplace time to hear how the Eidsvold men at the end of their day's work formed a "chain of brotherhood" and with tear filled eyes intoned, "United and true until Dovre falls!" But this was a great, inspiring moment. Much disagreement about how to proceed had been prevalent among the Eidsvoldmen; there was not a little bitterness and there were many sharp blows delivered; thus at the end of a day's session in that stirring time the great common goal "a free independent people" united everyone's hope, everyone's steel will in a common purpose. It united hearts and hands. For the first time, our people had, so to speak, accepted its call and received its dedication to a great purpose,...that of carrying out their part in securing liberty... of freeing themselves. They had received grace and power to take this first step in the country's direst need.

Do not these events appear a wonder in the thoughts of poets? And they were a wonder. Our people could scarcely accept what had happened. People went about as in a sweet running dream with a feeling of quiet happiness and in the beginning could scarcely believe it. It was like the feelings of a young beautiful mother who has just given birth to a child. Pain was blended with joy,--.tearful joy. The beginning of many battles and anxieties was begun, but there was also life's hidden joy and happiness. In this disposition the people went about their daily work. After a period of quiet "had relaxed the spinning of enthusiasm," there rose up in the sparkling blue spring days a song which trembled in rich chords over the entire country. Such sounds had never been heard before in Norway. And so intense was the singer's spirit of inspiration and love of country that a part of his being went into each joyous note. Because his heart was swelling with pride, his song sounded rich and beautiful and he blew a kiss to the spring's first flower. Yes, it was Henry Wergeland who in the joy of this enthusiasm poured out the hope of Norway's future.

Now it became springtime in Norway,--a springtime of the spirit such as perhaps no other country had experienced. Then the country's work began and a time of strife followed. It was soon discovered that there were many dangers which threatened our country's liberty. The people had to be educated to understand their obligations as citizens of a free community. It was the people's good fortune to have good leaders who could educate the people and guard our young freedom. What a ring such names as Wergeland, Welhaven, Vinje, Bjørnson, Ibsen have!

Or Ueland, Schweigaard, Sverdrup, or P. A. Munch, Sars, Nansen, Mickelsen...to name only a few of them. And it may confidently be said that our flag flies farther today...than ever before. For it flies over the South Pole's desert of ice; for that reason Raould Amundsen should be mentioned today.

How many battles have not been waged in the last fifty years! The battle of suffrage, of the flag, of running parliament, and especially of the veto power. When a proposal was made to take away from the people the control of their own fundamental laws, such a storm arose that King Oscar himself had to bend to the will of the people. And I can recall what joy there was when he in this hour of distress called Vansboe's chief, Johann Sverdrup, as his counsellor. And then came the last decisive controversy with our brother race. Like a dark cloud, intimations of the horrors of war arose. But this time also God was to be thanked. The people again stood as in a closed ring, and hearts and hands were united as on that day in Eidsvold. For the spirit which inspired the Eidsvold men in 1814 has permeated the lives of our people since that time. It has watered the young seed and lighted the dark, stormy times. It has produced iron will and steel blows....

When darkness and fog was dissipated, our beautiful mountain land lay in sunshine completely independent and free on the 7th of June, 1905.

Truly our people have ground to sing: Norsemen in house and cottage, thank your great God!

# John Dahle's Speech for

# the Norwegian-American

# Press Association

September 10, 1903
(reprinted in Nordvesten)

This will not be a speech,-only a few thoughts and observations which I wrote down the other evening and which I shall read, although I am well aware that there are many deficiencies in what I have written. At these press association meetings, each must let his light shine according to his abilities, whether the light is like that of a splendid electric light or like that of a simple tallow candle.

The Norwegian-Danish press in this country has a twofold task. On the one hand, it has the same objective as the American press: to keep its readers informed concerning the most important events at home and abroad; to discuss the most important questions of the day by presenting facts and information necessary to the development of a well-informed public; to promote good citizenship; to foster love for our home and knowledge of its institutions; to point out the significant privileges existent in political, social, economic and intellectual fields; to encourage responsible participation in civic duties incumbent upon free citizens in a free Republic. On the other hand, the Norwegian-American press serves as a connecting link between the fatherland and the immigrants. It is a medium which interprets Norwegian-Danish intellectual life and culture, which perpetuates and develops love of home, race, history, tradition, language, poetry, literature, songs and music,...or to use a more familiar expression, the heritage of our fathers (thereby strengthening our feeling of nationality), and which strengthens our spirit so that we can build the country in which we live in our fathers' spirit and faith.

We are all certainly in agreement regarding these two aspects of our task, just as we are in agreement that the task is a large and important one. It may not be too presumptious, however, to remind one another, of the necessity for taking our objective seriously, for assuming the great responsibility incumbent upon men of the press, and for evaluating the errors and weaknesses which make our work ineffective.

There is much talk in our country of the need for purifying the press. That the American daily newspapers have a demoralizing influence on people is, at any rate, clear to me. And it certainly is true that there is room for improvement in the Scandinavian press in this country too. To do as the Romans do perhaps pays off best, considered from a business point of view, but the policy often makes heavy demands on the conscience and often results in capitulation in return for a subsistence paid in corrupt money. The great danger among us lies in the problem of realizing the ambition of making a fortune without losing reputation, power, and influence. The endless pursuit of wealth, and the comforts of life penetrates everything. It is in the very air we breathe; it pervades our being; it shapes our outlook on life. The Norwegian-American press also shows strong signs of this spirit of the times. In speaking of ways to purify the Norwegian-American press, one thinks first of the type of reading material found in the form of sensational advertisements, and unfortunately these are frequently found. But these advertisements often take up several columns of space and bring a good profit so that it doesn't pay to leave them out. As long as the great mass of people want to read sensational details about the scandals of the time it also pays to include them. There will not be a clean press as long as the chief goal is to make as much money as possible. From a business standpoint, it simply does not pay. The lying, humbug advertisements about wonderful doctors and medicines which can cure all kinds of illnesses are sent into thousands of homes, and the newspapers have become accomplices in promoting this fraud. One or another of the Norwegian or Danish weeklies is perhaps the only reading material available in many homes. I have known many young people, born and raised in this country, who have had no other reading material than the family's Norwegian weekly newspaper. They read everything in the newspaper out there on the prairies. They are not always as busy as we city people and have less from which to choose. They do not simply scan the advertisements in which these miraculous incidents are included. It would be well for us to be more conscientious in this respect.

It is not only the sensational advertisements about medicines claiming to cure all kinds of disagreeable and horrible illnesses which are damaging to our Norwegian press but also the deceptive type of advertisements which have as their objective swindling people out of their money. There are also those which stimulate and foster the desire for speculation and which trick the readers into investing their money in doubtful enterprises. Too often also our paper's novels, romances, and serials are unfortunately of the type designed to awaken and foster base passions. If our Norwegian-Danish Press Association would take this matter under serious discussion and would agree to take a stand against all such shoddy and deceptive reading material, advertisements included, would agree to keep it out of its own columns and to oppose it in the American press through powerful articles written in English, it would bear fruit, and the Norwegian-Danish press would merit the gratitude of this generation and of posterity. Let us set higher goals for ourselves. Let us become keener and more discriminating.

The stultifying influence of the spirit of the times is noticeable. We have a tendency to make ourselves a pocket edition of the American press,...like small Scandinavian dogs who dutifully yelp when one or another of the large American watch dogs in St. Paul or Chicago have taken the lead. For example, most of us have become aware that the Socialistic movement has become a power in contemporary social life. I do not know how many of us are thoroughly informed on this burning issue of the time, but there are extremely few, are there not, who have brought the question up for serious, factual, searching discussion...Why are most of our newspapers so silent regarding a social science which obviously is trying to reshape the world? I wonder if it is not, perhaps, because the great American...Republican as well as Democratic...press either completely ignores this matter, or mentions it with haughty disdain as an outgrowth of the proletariat's hatred for the wealthy and aristocratic classes, or dismisses it completely as a silly, fanciful Utopian dream. For another example, take the President's energetic intervention during the coal strike. The coal barons' boundless arrogance and unconcern for others even compelled many of our daily newspapers to express sharp criticism of the capitalistic usurpation of power, which soon would have become an impending danger to our country. Such articles have never been seen before, with the exception of articles in the so-called reform press. Under ordinary circumstances they would have been labeled seditious. These big newspapers now began to nose out popular opinion. Something like this had to be expressed and it was! But one cannot escape the fact that only when the big newspapers had given the word,... then only, like an echo, came similar expressions in the Norwegian-Danish press.

We have learned from the American press to boast and to use big words. Everything that one wishes to discuss in a friendly manner must be exaggerated with praise. Although in many respects we are more dependent on our public's favor than our more powerful brothers, we tend to praise both that which is liked and that which is not, indiscriminately. As a rule, we use sharp criticism only about such things and about such persons as have already been censured and very seldom do we criticize people in our midst who have power or influence. But we can discuss with sweeping audacity the actions of great men who are far away and never read what we write. Among us, all societies are good and have a big mission to perform. Indeed, the larger they are, the better they are, and we never get too many of them. Concerts, singing festivals, theater productions, and school functions are always a shining success. Seventy-five participants always become 150 at the least; five hundred become 1,000. There is some degree of sense in exaggerations told deliberately and knowingly in order to serve a certain purpose, but they are completely inconceivable when they bring neither happiness nor credit to anyone. We are made dull and sluggish by the suffocating atmosphere of exaggeration so prevalent in the daily papers. It is characteristic of everything written from the blown up leaders to the description of department store sales.

The spirit of a business civilization contaminates our journalistic work just as it completely dominates the American daily newspapers, and it will completely overpower us if we are not on our guard. It is this spirit which fosters and develops disregard for physical work and which brings the country's young people into the cities where they may become merchants, speculators, or something else great instead of staying in the country to cultivate father's farm. Let it be one of the important functions of the Scandinavian press to promote the cause of the farmer. The Scandinavian people are farmers. If we want to work for the advancement of our people, we will proclaim the truth that the farmers are the heart of the country, that a hardy and well-informed farmer class is society's strongest bulwark, its ornament and its glory. Let us attend to eradicating the stupid view that the farmer does not need an education. Let us not weary of telling the people that the informed, educated, and hardy farmer is, so to speak, the back bone of the nation. We should work to get the farmer into the legislature, so that those who own the land can also be among those who govern it. Let us work toward promoting respect for our work and most of all for agricultural work. Let us work for the rural people's prosperity, their advancement in wealth, in education, in true culture, and for their equivalent status in society. This goal should be our watch word. Scandinavian journals should be above either carrying tales for the professional class or bowing to the big men of business or capital. The press which exists only to make money in whichever way possible is as Ibsen says "like a billy goat in a young growth of trees and should be exterminated just like all the other mischievous animals."

In conclusion this: The Norwegian-Danish press cannot do too much to support our own schools and colleges. These have, in part, the same task we have...or should have: to uplift our people and our race and to help them become good Norwegian-Americans of sound sense. Since virtually all of these schools are church schools then, as a matter of course, we must show the church denominations, which have built these schools and which run them, devoted esteem and respect. Concerning the American high school, we should as Scandinavian-Americans especially recommend to our students such institutions as have one or more able Scandinavian teachers.

The press has a great responsibility; for the press is a great power: It comes into thousands of homes; it discusses life's most important issues; it speaks to its circle of readers every week or every day; it takes a position on social, political, literary, and sometimes moral issues in the state and in society; it weighs and measures, criticizes and discusses; it introduces issues which its readers have thought about in many quiet moments; it raises doubts where there was unshakable belief; it directs the train of thoughts now here, now there; it opens the door to society's brilliant salons; it arouses yearnings in the young; it allows readers to look into the darkest tunnels of human life where discomfort, need, and crime naggingly are encountered; it sings for us of life's beauty; it makes us acquainted with great and noble personalities; it points out the restlessness of contemporary life, the vices and virtues of cultured men, the struggles of ambition, the ambitious drive to climb the social ladder to wealth and prestige; it shows us the horrors of war, the ravages of passion, the rewards of diligence, the blessing of work; it testifies to the success which follows the pursuit of peace; it reveals political intrigues, exposes corruption; it points out our problems and sets us a goal; it is a national educator.

May the Norwegian-Danish press set high goals and remember its responsibility!

# APPENDIX B

## MUSIKTIDENDE

Vol. 1, No. 1, January 1895, p. 8.

Edited by John Dahle

St. Paul

Jan. 15, 1895

May I say a few words through your periodical, Musiktidende, about the Songservices being held in the Synod Church here.

If I have understood the purpose of these Songservices correctly, the aim is to focus the attention of the young people (the older people too) on good church music and to bring more variety and spirit into the musical part of the church service. This was effected here by having the church choir and school children assemble in front of the church and, under the direction of the organist, sing chorales and songs from Børneharpen, while the congregation joined in the singing. The organ, a cornet, and two violins accompanied the singing. Between the musical parts of the service, the pastor gave a short talk, and the organist presented some historical data about the origin of some of our chorales.

When I read an article published in Norsk Amerikansk Musiktidende a few years ago about co-operating in such an effort, I had my honest doubts as to whether such a project would lead to any successful results; but after having attended some of these Songservices, I have completely changed my mind and realize that these Songservices, under good direction, will serve to arouse and maintain interest in the concerns of the Church among the young people.

It was an especially good idea to have the children sing. It was particularly impressive to hear the lovely children's voices singing the chorales. When children understand that they too are a part of the congregation, that they too can take an active part in the services, it will contribute toward maintaining their interest when they are grown; for that which one has learned to love as a child, he will generally love his whole life.

That this is a forward step may also be concluded from the fact that the attendance has been much better when the Songservices are held than has otherwise been the case at evening services.

It is to be hoped that this work may be widely carried out. It would also be a good thing if this matter could be made the object of discussion in the public press, so that the taste for good church music could be stimulated among our people; for it is certain that good singing and good music have more significance for the future of the Church than most people realize.

A Friend of Good Church Music

## APPENDIX C

## Lutheran Hymnary

Preceding the liturgical and hymn materials in *Lutheran Hymnary* are The Three Genral Creeds, The Augsburg Confession, Articles in Which are Recounted the Abuses Corrected, and Luther's small Catechism. The liturgical and hymn portion of the hymnal has the following organization and content:

1. Preface
2. Table of Contents
    - The Order of Morning Service I
    - Evening Service I
    - The Order of Morning Service or the Communion II
    - The Order of Evening Service or Vespers II
    - The Litany
    - Introits and Collects (for the Church Year)
    - Psalms (a Selection)
    - Subject Classification of Hymns: Worship in General 59; God 17; The Church 57; The Means of Grace 23; The Church Year 361; Various Occasions 61;
    - The Last Things 40
    - Doxologies
    - Appendix: Four rhythmic chorales by Klug, Bourgeois, Hassler, Isaac, respectively
    - Alphabetical Index of Tunes
    - Metrical Index of Tunes
    - Index of Subjects
    - Index of First Lines

3. The Hymns
    - 618 texts (metered)
    - 414 Tunes

4. Representative Authors of Hymns
    - Pre Reformation and Catholic; Bernard of Clairvaux (3); Bernard of Cluny (3); John of Damascus (2); Ambrose of Milan (2); Anonymous Latin sources from 5th through 18th Centuries (16).
    - Lutheran: Kingo (10); Grundtvig (8); Brorson (6); Landstad (9); J. N. Brun (4); Luther (16); C. J. Spitta (9); P. Gerhardt (15); J. Franck (5).
    - Reformed: Montgomery (12); Watts (18); C. Wesley (14); H. Bonar (5); J. Newton (4); N. L. von Zinzendorf (5); J. Cennick (2).

5. Representative Composers:
Pre-Reformation and Catholic: Tallis, Arcadelt, H. Isaac, C. Tye, O. Gibbons, unidentified melodies from early Latin sources.
Lutheran: J. Walther, M. Luther, P. Nicolai, J. Crüger, G. Neumark, L. Lindeman, C. E. F. Weyse.
Reformed: J. Dykes, J. Barnby, John Goss, W. H. Monk, J. Stainer, S. Wesley, L. Mason, O. Holden.

6. Composers Contributing Most Melodies:
Lindeman (31); John B. Dykes (21); J. Barnby (11); W. H. Monk (9); H. Smart (8); S. Wesley (7); J. Goss (7); J. Stainer (7).

7. Tunes Used Several Times:
Dundee (Scotch Psalter) (5); Breslau (5); Old Hundreth (6); Aurelia (6); Vater unser im Himmelreich (9); Jesus, meine Zuversicht (6); Erhalt uns Herr, bei deinem Wort (6); Jesu din Ihukommelse (6); Aus Meines Herzens Grunde (5); Fred til bod (Lindeman) (5); Wachet auf (6); Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern (6); Werde munter (5); Jesu dine dybe vunder (5).

# APPENDIX D

## A tribute to Prof. John Dahle

arranged by the Norse-American Centennial Daughters of St. Paul, Minn., and broadcast over Radio Station KSTP by Dr. O. E. Brandt, at their June meeting, 1929 -

It is very much to the credit of the Daughters of the Norse American Centennial that they have made of their anniversary gathering this year a reception in honor of Professor John Dahle. They have acted on the principle that it is better to give deserving persons a little taffy while they are living than a lot of epitaphy after they are gone.

Personally I deem it a high honor to be asked to tender this veteran of song, flowers of tribute from many friends and disciples. But it is no small task to wreathe these flowers into a harmonious garland about his brow.

Our guest of honor is almost as versatile as the district of Norway from which he came, Valdres, which comprises almost every element of scenic beauty, from the charming valleys along the serene fjords and flashing rivers up through mighty forests to the gleaming battlements of Jotunheimen. To group all these features into one painting is practically impossible. In like manner one feels baffled in the endeavor to cover in one sketch the many-sided personality and life-work of Professor Dahle.

Having fought his way through to a college education, he devoted much study to the drama, which has played such an important part in the cultural development of the Fatherland. To this interest we are indebted for the remarkable success which attended his training of the Norse Dramatic Club at the University of Minnesota for several seasons. No doubt his grasp of the principles of dramatic action has also contributed greatly to his good taste in matters of public speaking, to his vividness and force as a lecturer, and to the wit and wealth of epigram which have made him such an inimitable toastmaster and after-dinner speaker.

For some time after his arrival in America it appeared that he might settle down as a college

Courtesy: Luther Theological Seminary Archives teacher of languages, Latin or Norse, or both. During a number of years he devoted part of his energies to journalism, and some of us remember with pleasure certain trenchant editorials of his in a Norwegian weekly published in St. Paul.

But the chief service he has rendered our people is that of a prophet in Church Song.

He was born in a country and an age which had awakened to an appreciation of the treasures stored up in the folk melodies that were to be broadcast throughout the world by the genius of an Ole Bull and a Grieg. From his childhood these tunes, many of them deeply religious, were as the very breath of his soul. During his youth he enjoyed a good course of training both in the art and the theory of music, and learned to value also the classics of the world's great composers. When he came to this country, an ever broadening welcome awaited a man of his talents and accomplishments. There were singing societies which needed competent guidance, and the name John Dahle still brings a thrill to many singers who profited by his inspirational leadership and whose acclaim elevated him in due season to the office of Chief Director of the Scandinavian Singers of the Northwest. It was for the benefit of such secular singing groups that he published his valuable collection of national and social airs. It is no wonder that the great Singers' Association of the University of Norway created him in 1911 a knight of their order.

But from his very arrival the Church enlisted his gifts evermore exclusively. Its choirs needed anthems and cantatas, and he supplied them, in part with excellent compositions of his own, in part with sterling works of the masters such as Palestrina, Bach, and Handel. The future ministers of the Church must be made acquainted with its chants and hymns, and for more than a generation he has been professor of Sacred Song and Hymnology at our Theological Seminary.

The ripe fruit of this activity he has given us partly through his work on the Lutheran Hymnary, but mainly in his three-volume history of the hymns and hymn tunes of our Church. Ever more clearly has Professor Dahle grasped and practised the central principle that the true hymn is the Bible on wings, and that it therefore is Church Song--the singing of the congregation--above all, that must be cultivated if the progress of the Church is to be transformed from a laggard gait into a processional of triumph. In the carrying out of this principle Professor Dahle has been our great layman pioneer. The Choral Association of the Norwegian Synod which he founded and directed, and which mustered at one of its concerts, at St. Paul in 1911, 1300 singers, features this principle in the beautiful tribute which it tendered him in 1917, appointing him its honorary director.

No doubt it was the sacrifices of our guest of honor in the cause of Church Song that brought him the well-merited order of St. Olaf from the King of Norway, and which will enshrine his memory forever in the hearts of our people.

In presenting to Professor Dahle this wreath of grateful praise, I have acted on the conviction that we owe him this tribute, and that in his heart there is a shrine on which he, through Jesus Christ, humbly offers up men's homage to himself as homage to God, giving Him all glory and human praise, praying that it may also redound to the extension of His kingdom. May the Lord bless you, Professor Dahle, and crown your work as a prophet of His praises!

O. E. Brandt

## APPENDIX E

## LIST OF PUBLISHED WORKS

### CANTATA

*The Sixtieth Anniversary of Luther College* (Minneapolis:
Augsburg Publishing House, 1921)

### Mixed Chorus Collections
(compiled and edited by John Dahle)

*Sangbog for Kirke - Kor* I. (Chicago: John Anderson, 1884).

*Sangbog for Kirke - Kor* II. (Minneapolis: Scandia, 1890).

*Jubilate*. (Bound Edition. Decorah, Iowa: Lutheran Publishing House, n.d.).

*Jubilate*. (Quarterly issues, co-editor G. B. Wollan, Glenwood, Minnesota, and St. Paul, Minnesota: Jubilate Publishing Co., 1901-1905; 1906).

*Korsange og Koraler for Den Norske Synodes Sangerforbunds Andet Stevne*, 1908. (Minneapolis, 1908).

*Laus Deo*. (Decorah, Iowa: Lutheran Publishing House, 1915). (LTS)

*Reformation Songs*. (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1917). (MPL)

### Male Chorus Collections
(comp. and ed. by John Dahle)

*Sangbog for Mandssangforeninger*. (Chicago: John Anderson, 1885).

*Fram*. (Minneapolis: K. C. Holter, 1898).

*Nordisk Sang Album for Mandskor*. (Chicago: John Anderson, 1909).

### Liturgical and Hymnological Books

*Music for the Morning Service*. (St. Paul, 1906).

*The Library of Christian Hymns.* 3 vols. trans. M. Casper Johnshoy. (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1924, 1927, 1928).

*The Liturgical Service of the Lutheran Church.* (co-editor, M. Casper Johnshoy. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1922).

## Periodicals, Newspapers

*Norsk Amerikansk Musiktidende.* (Minneapolis: Scandia, 1890-91).

*Musiktidende.* (St. Paul: Northern, 1895). (LTS)

*Nordvesten.* (assoc-ed., St. Paul: 1902-1905). (MHS)

## Compositions

The following collections and periodicals contain Dahle's original tunes and arrangements for mixed chorus, children's choir, and male chorus:

Børneharpen III, ed. Erik Jensen and John Dahle (Decorah, Iowa: Udgiveren, 1890). 1. Vi samles nu, vi smaabørn her (John Dahle). 2. Lover Gud (J. H. Rolle-Dahle). 3. Vaag, o sjael, og bede (John Dahle). 4. Idag skal alting sjunge (John Dahle). 5. De vise i Bethlehem (Jensen-Dahle). 6. Safe in the arms of Jesus (John Dahle).

Sangbog for Kirke-kor II, ed. John Dahle (Minneapolis: Scandia, 1890). 1. Hvad er det godt at landet (John Dahle). 2. Julesang (John Dahle). 3. Min sjael, lov Herren (John Dahle).

Norsk Amerikansk Musiktidende, ed. John Dahle (Minneapolis: Scandia, April 1890). 1. Jerusalem, du høit opbygte stad (John Dahle). (Tilegnet Synode kirkens sangkor, St. Paul).

Ungdommens Ven, ed. K. C. Holter (Minneapolis: Ungdommens Ven Forlag). 1. Min Klage (John Dahle, from Børneharpen 1890). 2. Come Let Us Sing of Jesus (John Dahle, May 1893). 3. Sweet Hour of Prayer (John Dahle, May 1893). 4. Den store hvide flok (John Dahle).

Fram, ed. John Dahle (Minneapolis: K. C. Holter, 1898). 1. Fremad (J. D.). 2. Old Glory (J. D. ).

Fredsbasunen, ed. B. K. Birkeland (Minneapolis: Skoog & De Lander, 1899). 1. Aabent staar Jesu forbarmende hjerte (W. C. Filby-Dahle). 2. Af idel lys jeg ved et land (arr. J. D. ). 3. Ak, kommer den dog nu ei snart (J. D. ). 4. Ak, vidste hver, hvor godt det er at holde (arr. J. D. ). 5. Altid salig, om ei altid glad (C. Korneliussen-Dahle). 6. Arbeid, for natten kommer (J. D.). 7. Blandt Guds lille børneflok (J. D.). 8. Brødre, søstre, børn og faedre (J. D.). 9. Den store laege nu er naer (J. D.). 10. Der er liv i at se paa det Golgatha kors (J. D.). 11. Der skal bli strømme af naade (J. D.). 12. Der var nitti og ni (J. D.). 13. Du taler om veir (Svensk folketone-arr. J.D.). 14. En port til himlen aaben staar (J.D.). 15. En sjael skal snart gaa gjennem himmelens port (J.D.). 16. En skat jeg har fundet (arr. J.D.). 17. Er der rum for mig? (C. Korneliussen-arr. J.D.). 18. Er du traet og syg og tung om hjerte? (J.D.). 19. Fader vor, som troner i din himmel (Arr. J.D.). 20. Farvel, farvel i Herrens navn (J.D.). 21. Fra menneskevrimlen (J.D.). 22. Fremad, krigerhaer (J.D.). 23. Gaa mig ei forbi (J.D.). 24. Har du lyst til i himlen at komme (J.D.). 25. Himlens fugle hver har sine reder (arr. J.D.). 26. Himlens klokker melder med en deilig klang (J.D.). 27. Hvad blev der liden tab paa tiden (arr. J.D.). 28. Hvem kan sige ud den lykke (arr. J.D.). 29. Hvilken nød og jammer (J.D.). 30. Hvor du end i verden vanker (J.D.). 31. I det kjaere himmerig (J.D.). 32. Imellem havens dunkle traer (arr. J.D.). 33. Ja, døden er en venlig gjest (J.D.). 34. Jeg er saa sløv, o Herre (J.D.). 35. Jeg gav mit liv for dig (J.D.). 36. Jesus, mit liv og min lykke (J.D.). 37. Kan du synge den nye sangen (arr. J.D.). 38. Kom hid du tørstig sjael (J.D.). 39. Kom til din frelser (J.D.). 40. Lad os vort møde i himlen bestemme (W. C. - arr. J.D.). 41. Langt ovenfor den taagesky (J.D.). 42. Løft dig, sjael, mod himlen (arr. J.D.). 43. Mit pilegrimsliv (J.D.). 44. Nu lyser solen med deilighed (J.D.). 45. Nu, o Jesus, byder du (J.D.). 46. O, hvor saligt det skal blive (arr. J.D.). 47. O, I kristne, se, signalet (J.D.). 48. O, sig mig, o broder (arr. J.D.). 49. Ud fra guds høie trone (J.D.). 50. Udi bibelen er en skat (arr. J.D.). 51. Vaag, o sjael, og bede (J.D.). 52. Vil du med til himmelen? (J.D.). 53. Vor sterke klippe Herren er (J.D.). 54. Ønsker du naade, ønsker du fred? (arr. J.D.).

*Jubilate*, ed. John Dahle and G. B. Wollan (Minneapolis: Augsburg, n.d.). 1. Herren er min hyrde (John Dahle, 1901). 2. Hør en røst af en som raaber (John Dahle, 1901). 3. Fremmed, forladt og arm (John Dahle, 1902).

*Nordisk Sangalbum for Mandskor*, ed. John Dahle (Chicago: John Anderson, 1909). 1. De sønderjydske piger (Hillebrandt-Dahle). 2. Hver gang bøgenes blade (Folketone, arr. J.D.).

*The Lutheran Hymnary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1913). 1. Her kommer dine arme smaa (J.A.P. Schulz-Dahle). 2. Herr Jesu Christ, du höchstes Güt (German chorale-Dahle). 3. Ave Maria (Arcadelt-Dahle). 4. Mach's mit mir, Gott, nach deiner Güt (J. H. Schein-Dahle). 5. Naar Synderen ret ser sin vaade (J.D. Meier-Dahle). 6. Wie Gott mich führt, so will ich gehn (John Dahle). 7. Dir, dir Jehovah, will ich singen (John Dahle). 8. O Father, Thou who hast created all (John Dahle). 9. Prayer is the soul's sincere desire (John Dahle). 10. Safely through another week (John Dahle).

*Reformation Songs*, ed. John Dahle (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1917). 1. Sing, O Heavens (John Dahle). 2. We Have Thought of Thy Loving Kindness (John Dahle).

*Jubilate Anthems*, trans. and ed. G. Malmin (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1929). 1. And I Heard a Great Voice (John Dahle). 2. Poor and Forsaken (John Dahle). 3. The Twenty-Third Psalm (John Dahle). 4. My Soul Now Bless Thy Maker (John Dahle). 5. The Day Is Past and Over (John Dahle).

*Service Book and Hymnal of the Lutheran Church in America* (Minneapolis and five other cities, 1958). 1. Safely through another week (John Dahle). 2. Lord of the everlasting light (John Dahle).

## Unpublished Works
### Cantatas

*Den norske fisker* (text J. Skogen), (n.d.).

*Kirkekantate* (text S. Folkestad), (1918).

*Cantata for the 900th Anniversary of the Introduction of Christianity in Valdres* (1922).

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## SYMBOLS

| | |
|---|---|
| AC | Augsburg College, Minneapolis |
| LC | Luther College, Decorah, Iowa |
| LTS | Luther Theological Seminary, St. Paul |
| MHS | Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul |
| MPL | Minneapolis Public Library, Minneapolis |
| StO | St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota |
| UM | University of Minnesota, Minneapolis |

## GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, David Allen. *The School System of Norway*. Boston: The Gorham Press, 1913.

Babcock, K. C. "The Scandinavian Element in the United States," *Studies in the Social Sciences*, XII, VII. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1914.

Barton, Albert O. "The Beginnings of the Norwegian Press in America," *Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society*, (Madison, 1916), 186-212.

Behrens, Joh. D. *Enstemmig Salme-Sangbok for Skolen og Hjemmet*. Kristiania: Feilberg & Landmark, 1858.

________. *Firstemmige lette Mandskor for Seminarier og Sangforeninger*. Kristiania: Behrens, n.d.

________. *Korsanglaere for Mandsstemmer*. Kristiania: Joh. D. Behrens, 1883.

________. *Melodier til Luthers Aandelige Sange*. Kristiania: Feilberg & Landmark, 1859. (LC)

________. *Norsk Folke-Sangbok for Firstemmigt Mandskor*. Kristiania: Joh. D. Behrens, n.d.

________. *Om den lutherske Salmesang og den Gjenindførelse i den Norske Kirke*. Kristiania: Feilberg & Landmark, 1858.

________. *Sanglaere for Skoler*. Kristiania: Feilberg & Landmark, 1868.

________. *Tostemmig Sangbok for Sopran og Alt eller Tenor og Bas*. Kristiania: Joh. D. Behrens, n.d.

Benson, William C. *High on Manitou: A History of St. Olaf College 1874-1949*. Northfield, Minnesota, 1949.

Bergmann, Leola Nelson. *Music Master of the Middle West: The Story of F. Melius Christiansen and the St. Olaf Choir*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1944.

Bjerregaard, H. A. *Fjeldeventyret i Originaltekst*. ed. Øyvind Ander. Oslo: Gyldendal, 1949.

Blegen, Theodore C., ed. *Land of Their Choice: The Immigrants Write Home*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955.

Blegen, Theodore C. *Leaders in American Immigration.* Reprinted from the Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society Publications, No. 38. (Springfield, Illinois, 1931).

________ and Martin B. Ruud. *Norwegian Emigrant Songs and Ballads*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1936.

________. *Norwegian Migration to America, 1825-1860*. Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Assocation, 1931.

________. *Norwegian Migration to America: The American Transition*. Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1940.

________. trans. and ed. *Ole Rynning's True Account of America*, Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association Travel and Description Series, I, 1926.

________. "The Early Norwegian Press in America," *Minnesota History Bulletin* III, 506-518.

Blume, Friedrich. *Die evangelische Kirchenmusik*. Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, M.B.H., 1931.

Bodin, Else Marie. "Norse Folk-Songs and Melodies," *The Norseman*, X. (Sept. and Oct. 1951), 311-319.

Boyesen, Einar. *Hartvig Nissen (1815-1874) og Det Norske skolevesens reform*. 2 vols. Oslo: Joh. Grundt Tanum, 1947.

Brandt, Mrs. R. O. "Social Aspects of Prairie Pioneering: The Reminiscences of a Pioneer Pastor's Wife," *Norwegian-American Studies and Records*, VII. Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association 1933, 1-46.

Bronson, Bertrand Harris. "Some Observations about Melodic Variation in British-American Folk Tunes," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* III. (Spring, 1950), 120-134.

Brown, Francis J. and Joseph S. Roucek. eds. *One America: The History, Contributions, and Present Problems of Our Racial and National Minorities*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952.

Bugge, Sophus. *Gamle Norske Folkeviser*. Kristiania: Feilberg & Landmark, 1858.

Bull, Edv., Einar Jansen, eds. *Norwegian Biographical Lexicon* III. Oslo: Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), 1926, 243.

Carlyle, Thomas. "Early Kings of Norway," *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, V. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, n.d., 201-310.

Cartford, Gerhard. "Music for Youth in an Emerging Church," *Norwegian-American Studies and Records* XXII. Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1965, 162-177.

_________. "Music in the Norwegian Lutheran Church: A Study of its Development in Norway and its Transfer to America, 1825-1917." Unpubl. Ph. D. Diss., University of Minnesota, 1961.

Chase, Gilbert. *America's Music: From the Pilgrims to the Present*. New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955.

Christiansen, F. M. "Tempo in Hymn Singing," *Lutheran Herald* XV (Oct. 6, 1931), 1275.

Commager, Henry Steele, ed. *Immigration and American History: Essays in Honor of Theodore C. Blegen*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961.

Conradi, J. G. *Kortfattet historisk Oversigt over Musikens Udvikling og Nuvaerende Standpunkt i Norge*. Kristiania: Carl Warmuth, 1878.

Dahle, John. "Address given at 'Fram's' Third Evening Entertainment Program," trans. N. M. Hoyem. St. Paul: *Nordvesten*, (February 6, 1902).

_________. "Address given for Norwegian-American Press Association," trans. N. M. Hoyem. St. Paul: *Nordvesten*, (September 10, 1903).

_________. "How Our Hymns Ought To Be Sung," trans. N. M. Hoyem. *Evangelisk luthersk Kirketidende*, XXXIII (March-June 1906), 339-343; 427-430; 455-458; 537-541; 707-710.

_________. "Luther og den latinske Kirkesang," *Teologisk Tidsskrift*, ed. H. G. Stub. St. Paul, Minnesota, (January 1921),

_________. "May 17th Address," trans. N. M. Hoyem. St. Paul, Minnesota: Unpublished John Dahle Papers, Luther Theological Seminary, n.d.

________. "Musicians and Musical Life among the Norwegians in America," trans. N. M. Hoyem. St. Paul, Minnesota: A series of articles appearing in *Nordvesten*, April 3, 1902, through April 2, 1903.

Dahle, John. *Norsk Amerikansk Musiktidende: et maanedsskrift med musikbilag*, I (May, July, October, 1890), (February, April, 1891); II (November 1891). Minneapolis, Minnesota: Scandia Publishing & Printing Company. (St O) (UM)

________. "Syngende Menigheder," *Musiktidende*, I (January 1895), St. Paul, Minnesota: Northern Music Company, 2-3. (LTS)

________. *The Library of Christian Hymns*. 3 vols. trans. M. Casper Johnshoy. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1924, 1927, 1928. (AC)

________. "The Ideal Home," trans. N. M. Hoyem. St. Paul, Minnesota: Unpublished John Dahle Papers, Luther Theological Seminary, (n.d.).

________. *Valdris Samband: beretninger og rapporter fra det sidste stevne holdt i Como Park, St. Paul, August 31, 1902, og Prof. John Dahle's Tale*. "John Dahle's Speech," trans. N. M. Hoyem. St. Paul: M. Moe's bogtrykkeri, 1902.(MAS)
H

Dahlmann, Friedrich C., *Geschichte von Dannemark*. 3 vols. 8 vo. Hamburg: F. Perthes, 1840.

De la Borde. *Essai sur la Musique* II. Paris: 1780.

*Den Norske Studentersangforeningens Koncerttourne' gjennem det norske Amerika i mai og juni, 1905*. Kristiania: 1905.

Dieserud, Juul. "Valdris Samband og dets ledende Mand," *Normands Forbundet*, XVI (Oslo, 1923), 139-145. (UM)

Eidbo, Olav Elling. "Songs of the Norwegian Folk in Culture and Education in the United States." Unpubl. Ph. D. Diss., U of North Dakota, 1956.

Elling, Catherinus. *Vore religiøse Folketoner*. Oslo: Dydwad, 1927.

Falnes, Oscar J. *National Romanticism in Norway*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1933.

Field, L. N. "Our Heritage of Music," *Norsemen Found a Church*, ed. J. C. K. Preus. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1953, 379-388.

Flom, George T. "Norwegian Language and Literature in American Universities," *Norwegian-American Studies and Records*, II. Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1927, 78-103.

Folkestad, Sigurd. "Norske i Brooklyn-New York," *Symra*, IV. Decorah, Iowa: Udgivet av Kristian Prestgard og Joh. B. Wist. Decorah Postens Trykkeri, 1908, 79-97. (UM)

________. "John Dahle," *Nordmands Forbundet*, (May, 1919), 212-213; 384-385; and XV (1922), 184-186; 196-197; 249.

Fonkalsrud, Alfred O. *Scandinavians as a Social Force in America*. Brooklyn, N. Y.,: Heiberg Printery, 1913.

Forestier, Auber and Rasmus B. Anderson. *The Norway Music Album*. Boston: Ditson, 1881.

Gimmestad, L. M. "Bygdelagsbevaegelsen," *Skandinavens Almanak og Kalender*, 1927, 97-103.

Gjerset, Knut. *History of the Norwegian People*. 2 vols. New York; Macmillan, 1915.

________. *Norwegian Sailors in American Waters*. Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian American Historical Association, 1933.

Glahn, Henrik. *Melodistudier til den lutherske salmesangs historie fra 1524 til ca. 1600*. Kjøbenhavn, 1954.

Glasoe, Paul Maurice. "A Singing Church," *Norwegian-American Studies and Records*, XIII. Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1943, 92-107.

Grose, I. F. "The Beginnings of St. Olaf College," *Norwegian-American Studies and Records*, V. Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1930, 110-121.

________. "The Landstad-Lindeman Hymn-book," *The Lutheran Church. A Series of Occasional Papers of General Interest to the Entire Lutheran Church*, I, IX. (October, 1938).

Halversen, J. B. "Oversigt over Joh. D. Behrens Liv og Forfattervirksomhed," *Norsk forfatter lexikon*. II. (1888), 490.

Hansen, Carl G. "Norsk Musik i Amerika," *Nordmaendene i Amerika, deres Historie og Rekord* av Martin Ulvestad. Minneapolis: History Book Company's Forlag, 1907.

________. "Northern Music in America: Norwegian," *American Scandinavian Review*, IV (Jan.-Feb. 1916), 38-44.

________. *My Minneapolis*, Minneapolis: Standard Press, 1956.

Hansen, Marcus L. "Immigration and Puritanism," *Norwegian-American Studies and Records*, IX. Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1936, 1-28.

Hansen, Maurice B. and Norman Blessum. *Brief History of Nordmaendenes Sangforening, Chicago, Illinois, 1870-1945*. Chicago: 1945.

Hanson, Haldor, ed. *Index to Maanedstidende, March 1855-December 1873 and Evangelisk luthersk Kirketidende, January 1874-December 1902*. Decorah, Iowa: Lutheran Publishing House, 1904.

Haugen, Einar. "Language and Immigration," *Norwegian-American Studies and Records*, X. Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1938, 1-43.

________. *Language Conflict and Language Planning*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966.

Haugen, Einar. "Norwegian Emigrant Songs and Ballads," in *Journal of American Folk Lore*, LI ed. Ruth Benedict. New York; The American Folk Lore Society. J. J. Augustin, Inc. (January-March, 1938), 69-75.

________. *The Norwegian Language in America: A Study in Bilingual Behavior*. 2 vols. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953.

Hicks, John D. "The People's Party in Minnesota," *Minnesota History*, V, VIII. (November, 1924).

Hjortsvang, Carl T. "Scandinavian Contributions to American Sacred Music," Unpubl. D.S.M. diss., Union Theological Seminary, 1951.

Holloway, H. *The Norwegian Rite*. London: Arthur H. Stockwell, 1934.

Horton, John. *Grieg*. London: W. C. 2, Duckworth, 1950.

Hovde, B. J. "Old Immigration," *One America: The History, Contributions, and Present Problems of Our Racial and National Minorities*. ed. Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek. New York: Prentice-Hall, Incorporated, 1952.

Høyem, Oluf J. *Bynes og Brevik.* Trondhjem, 1894.

________. *Bynesets Skolesaga* 1740-1914. Svorkmo, 1916.

Howard, John Tasker and George Kent Bellows. *A Short History of Music in America.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1957.

Huus, Helen. *The Education of Children and Youth in Norway. Studies in Comparative Education.* No. 3. University of Pittsburgh Press: 1960.

Jacobsen, Lis, ed. *Peder Palladius, Den Aeldste Danske Alterbog.* 1556. Kjøbenhavn: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1918. (UM)

Jahr, Torstein, "Oleana. Et Blad of Ole Bulls og den Norske udvandrings historie," *Symra*, VI. Decorah, Iowa: Utgivet af Kristian Prestgard og Johs. B. Wist. Decorah Posten's Trykkeri, 1910, 2-37; 129-162; 195-216.

Jansen, Einar and Paulus Svendsen, eds. *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon* XII. Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co., 1954.

Jensen, Arne Sigurd. *The Rural Schools of Norway.* Boston, Massachusetts: The Stratford Company, 1928.

Johanssen, David Monrad. *Edvard Grieg*, trans. Madge Robertson. New York: Tudor Publishing Co., 1945.

Johnson, E. Chr. "The Liturgy of the Norwegian Lutheran Church," *Memoirs of the Lutheran Liturgical Association.* VII. Pittsburgh: Lutheran Liturgical Association, (1906), 35-47.

Johnson, J. S. *Minnesota: En Kortfattet Historie av Nordmaendenes Bebyggelse av Staten, Deres Gjøremaal, Foreninger og Livsvilkaar.* St. Paul: McGill-Warner Co., 1914.

Jorgenson, Theodore. *History of Norwegian Literature.* Minneapolis: Burgess-Roseberry Company, 1933.

________. *The Cultural Development of the Norwegian People.* Minneapolis: Burgess-Roseberry Company, 1930.

Koht, Halvdan and Sigmund Skard. *The Voice of Norway.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1944.

Koren, Elisabeth. *Fra Pioneer Tiden: Uddrag av Fru Elisabeth Korens dagbog og breve fra femtiaarene.* Decorah, Iowa: 1914.

Koren, U. V. Undated Letter to John Dahle, Koren Papers. Koren Library, Luther College.

Lamberton, Milan. "Characteristics of Hymn Tunes Commended and Condemned," *The Hymn* XVII (April 1966), 48-62.

Landstad, M. B. *Norske Folkeviser*. Kristiania: C. Tonnsberg, 1853.

________. *Om Salmebogen*. Kristiania: J. Dybwad, 1862.

Landstad, M. B. and L. M. Lindeman. *Martin Luthers aandelige Sange*. Kristiania: W. O. Fabritius, 1859.

Lang, Paul Henry. *Music in Western Civilization*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1941.

________, ed. *One Hundred Years of Music in America*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1961.

Lange, Kristian and Arne Østvedt. *Norwegian Music: A Brief Survey*. London: Dobson, 1958.

Larsen, Karen. *A History of Norway*. New York: Princeton University Press, 1948.

Larson, Laurence M. *The Changing West and Other Essays*. Northfield: The Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1937.

Larson, Lawrence M. "The Norwegian Element in the Northwest," *American Historical Review*, XI (October 1934), 69-81.

Liemohn, Edwin. *The Chorale Through Four Hundred Years of Musical Development as a Congregational Hymn*. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1953.

Lindeman, L. M. *Aeldre og Nyere Norske Fjeldmelodier*. Christiania: Carl Warmuth, 1853-1867.

________. *Melodier til Sangene i Laesebog: for Folkeskolen og Folkehjemmet*. Christiania: Cappelen, 1864.

McWilliams, Carey. "Minneapolis: The Curious Twin," *Common Ground*, (Autumn 1948), 61-65.

Molland, Einar. *Church Life in Norway 1800-1950*. trans. Harris Kaasa. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1957.

Mumford, Lewis. Sticks and Stones. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1924.

"Music Leaders in Our Church," Augsburg Publishing House Bulletin, I, I. (April 1919).

Nannestad, J. R. "Lidt om Norsk mandssang i Amerika," Nordmands Forbundet, III (June 1910), 296-319.

Nelson, David T. Luther College 1861-1961. Decorah, Iowa: Luther College Press, 1961.

Nelson, E. Clifford and Eugene L. Fevold. The Lutheran Church among Norwegian-Americans. A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. 2 vols. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960.

Nelson, Olaf N. ed. History of the Scandinavians and Successful Scandinavians in the United States. 2 vols. Minneapolis: O. N. Nelson & Company, 1901.

Nevins, Allan and Henry Steele Commager. History of the United States. New York: Washington Square Press, 1961.

Norlie, O. M. History of the Norwegian People in America. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1925.

________. School Calendar, 1824-1924. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1928.

Nyerup og Rahbek. Udvalgte danske Viser fra Middelalderen. Kjøbenhavn: 1812-14.

Nyhuus, Haakon, ed. Konversations Leksikon II. Kristiania: H. Aschehoug & Co., 1908, 562.

Nutzhorn H. Den danske menigheds Salmesang i Reformationstiden. 2 vols. Kjøbenhavn: Det Schønbergske Forlag, 1913.

Odland, Martin W. The Life of Knute Nelson. Minneapolis: The Lund Press, Inc., 1926.

Parrington, Vernon L. Main Currents of American Thought. New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1930.

Paulson, Arthur C. "Bjørnson and the Norwegian-Americans, 1880-81," Norwegian-American Studies and Records, V. Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1930, 84-109.

Preus, J. C. K. The History of the Choral Union of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960.

Price, Carl F. "Luther and Congregational Song," Papers of the Hymn Society, XII ed. Luther Reed. New York: Hymn Society of America, 1947.

Qualey, Carlton C. Norwegian Settlement in the United States. Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1938.

Qualey, Carlton C. "Seven Letters from Valdres," Norwegian-American Studies and Records, XXII. Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1965, 144-161.

Qvamme, Børre. Norwegian Music and Composers. London: Bond Publishing Co., 1949.

Reed, Luther D. The Lutheran Liturgy. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1947.

Ristad, D. G. "The Church a Factor in Norwegian-American Development," American Scandinavian Review, II, II. (March 1914), 34-38.

Rodnick, David. The Norwegians. Washington, D. C. Public Affairs Press, 1955.

Ruud, Martin. "Norwegian Emigrant Songs," Norwegian-American Studies and Records, II. Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1927, 1-19.

Rølvaag, O. E. Giants in the Earth; Peder Victorius; Their Fathers' God. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1927, 1929, 1931.

Rølvaag, O. E. and P. J. Eikeland. Norsk Laesebog. Bind 2. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1920.

Sandvik, O. M. Gregoriansk Sang. Oslo. Aschehoug, 1945.

________. Ludvig M. Lindeman og folke melodien. Oslo: Joh. Grundt Tanum, 1950.

________. Norsk Kirkemusik. Kristiania: Steenske Forlag, 1918.

________. Norsk Koralhistorie. Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co., (W. Nygaard), 1930.

________. Norske religiøse folketoner. Oslo: Universitets forlaget, 1960.

________. and Gerhard Schjelderup, eds. Norges Musikhistorie. 2 vols. Kristiania: Eberh. B. Oppi Kunstforlag, 1921.

Schlesinger, Arthur M. Paths to the Present. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949.

Schneider, Marius. "Primitive Music," New Oxford History of Music, I. London: Oxford University Press, 1957.

Semmingsen, Ingrid. "Norwegian Emigration to America During the Nineteenth Century," Norwegian-American Studies and Records, XI. Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1940, 66-81.

________. Utvandringen og det utflyttede Norge. Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co., (W. Nygaard), 1952.

________. Veien mot vest: Utvandring fra Norge til Amerika. Bind 1, 1815-1865; Bind 2, 1865-1915. Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co., (W. Nygaard), 1942, 1950.

Sherman, John K. Music and Maestros: The Story of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1952.

Simpson, Eugene E. The History of the St. Olaf Choir. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1921.

Skaar, J. N. Norsk Salmehistorie, 2 vols. Bergen: Beyer Forlag, 1879 and 1880.

Skardal, Dorothy Burton. "The Scandinavian Immigrant Writer in America," Norwegian-American Studies and Records, XXI. Northfield, Minnesota: The Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1962, 29-30.

Smith, W. C. Americans in the Making. New York: D. Appleton Century Company, 1939.

Strand, A. E., ed. A History of the Norwegians in Illinois. Chicago: John Anderson Publishing Company, 1905.

Stub, Valborg Hovind. Songs From the North. Minneapolis: Paul A. Schmitt, 1895.

Støylen, Bernt. "Norske Salmedigtere," *Symra* I. 38-45. Decorah, Iowa: Udgivet av Kristian Prestgard og Johs. B. Wist, Decorah Posten's Trykkeri, 1905, 38-45.

Sundby-Hansen, Harry. *Norwegian Immigrant Contributions to America's Making*. New York: International Press, 1921.

Sundheim, A. M., ed. *Valdreser i Amerika, Aarbog*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House Trykkeri, 1922.

Tocqueville, Alexis de. *Treatise de la Democratie en Amerique* (Democracy in America). London: 1835.

Tjernagel, Nehemias. "Riverside Musikkorps. Fra kulturens grotid paa praerien," *Nordmands Forbundet*, XV (1922), 212-217.

Ueland, Andreas. *Recollections of an Immigrant*. New York: Minton, Balch and Company, 1929.

Ulvestad, Martin. *Nordmaendene i Amerika, deres Historie og Rekord*. 2 vols. Minneapolis: History Book Company's Forlag, 1907-1913.

________. *Norge i Amerika med kart*. Minneapolis: Norge i Amerika Publishing Company, 1901.

Vang, Anders Evenssøn. *Vang's Valdris-Rispo*. ed. A. Veblen. Fullerton, California: K. B. Norswing, 1930.

Veblen, Andrew A. *The Valdris Book*. Minneapolis: Published by the Author, 1920.

Voldahl, Henrik, Olaf Lysnes, C. Kr. Johnsen. *Firehundredaarig Lutherdom*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1917.

Wish, Harvey. *Society and Thought in Early America*. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1952.

Wist, Johs. B. *Norsk-amerikanernes festskrift*, 1914. Decorah, Iowa: Symra Company, 1914.

Wist, Napier and Henriette C. Koren Naeseth. "Two Early Norwegian Dramatic Societies in Chicago," *Norwegian-American Studies and Records*, X. Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1938, 44-75.

Wiora, Walter. *The Four Ages of Music*. trans. M. D. Herter Norton. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1965.

Zahn, Johannes. Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder. I - VI. Gutersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1889-93.

Østvedt, Arne. Norwegian Music, A Brief Survey. London: 1958.

## CHORAL COLLECTIONS, HYMNALS, AND CHORALE BOOKS

Christian Hymns for Church, School, and Home. Decorah, Iowa: Lutheran Publishing House, 1898.

Church and Sunday School Hymnal. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1898.

Concordia. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1933.

Glasoe, Oluf. Lindeman's Koralbog med Tillaeg. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1899.

Jensen, Erik. Klokketoner. Minneapolis: Udgiverens Forlag, 1896.

________. Koralbog. Chicago: Udgiverens Forlag, 1879.

________. Tillaeg til Lindemans Koralbog. Minneapolis: Udgiverens Forlag, 1895.

Landstad, M. B. Kirkesalmebog. Kristiania: J. W. Cappelen, 1870.

Landstad, M. B. Kirkesalmebog. Kristiania: Norsk Salmebog-Samlag, 1892.

________. Salmebog for lutherske Kristne i Amerika. Minneapolis; 1894.

________. Salmebog for lutherske Kristne i Amerika. Minneapolis: Hauges Synodes Forlag, 1895.

________. and E. Blix. Kirkesalmebog. Kristiania: Oscar Anderson's Bogtrykkeri, 1920.

Lindeman, Ludvig. Koralbog. Kristiania: J. W. Cappelens Forlag, 1878.

Lindeman, Ludvig. Koralbog med Tillaeg. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1899.

Lindeman, Ludvig. *Norsk Messebog*. Kristiania: W. C. Fabritius, 1870 and Dybwad, 1885.

*Psalmebog for Kirke og Hus, udgiven paa Foranstaltning af Synoden for den norsk - evangelisk lutherske Kirke i Amerika*. LaCrosse, Wisconsin: Faedrelandet og Emigranten's Officin, 1870.

*Salmebog, Udgiven af Synoden for den norsk evangelisk-lutherske Kirke i Amerika*. Decorah, Iowa: Synodens Forlag, 1903.

*Sange for Sangerfesten under Forenings Aarsmodet 1917*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1917.

*Service Book and Hymnal of the Lutheran Church in America*. Minneapolis (and five other cities): Authorized by the Churches Co-operating in the Commission on the Liturgy and The Commission on the Hymnal, 1958.

*Rhytmisk Koralbog*. Decorah, Iowa: Lutheran Publishing House, 1904.

*The Lutheran Hymnary*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1913.

*The Lutheran Hymnary, Junior*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1916.

## NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

The dates given are those covering the issues consulted by the writer for this study.

*Decorah-Posten* (Decorah, Iowa), Nov. 24, 1922; Dec. 9, 1927.

*Evangelisk Luthersk Kirketidende* (Decorah), Jan. 1883-June 1906. (MHS)

*Lutheran Herald* (Minneapolis), July 6, 1917; Aug. 11, 1931; Nov. 24, 1931; Aug. 22, 1933; Oct. 10, 1933; Oct. 16, 1934. (MHS) (LTS)

*Minneapolis Journal* (Minneapolis), June 9, 1900 - July 7, 1900.

*Minneapolis Tidende* (Minneapolis), Jan. 29, 1897; Sept. 2, 1898; Sept. 30, 1898; Dec. 9, 1898; May 17, 1908; April 24, 1919; Oct. 14, 1921; July 23, 1931; Aug. 6, 1931; Aug. 27, 1931. (MHS)

*Minneapolis Tribune* (Minneapolis), Jan. 20, 1899; July 7, 1895.

*Musiktidende* (St. Paul), Jan. 1895. (LTS)

*Nordmands Forbundet* (Christiania), June 1910 - July 1936. (UM)

*Nordvesten* (St. Paul), Oct. 17, 1901 - Sept. 10, 1906 (MHS)

*Norsk-Amerikansk Musiktidende* I (Minneapolis), May, July, Oct., Nov., Dec., 1890; Jan., Feb., April, 1891; and II, Nov. 1891. (St O and UM)

*Reform* (Eau Claire), July 23, 1931. (MHS)

*Sanger-Hilsen* (Minneapolis), Jan. 1920 - Dec. 1955. (MHS)

*Skandinaven* (Chicago), Dec. 9, 1927; Jan. 2, 1931; July 21, 1931.

*St. Paul Dispatch* (St. Paul), June 26, 1911; July 16, 1931; July 17, 1931.

*Symra* (Decorah), 1905-1914 (UM)

*Teologisk Tidskrift* (St. Paul), Jan. 1921. (LTS).